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ENGLISH MERCHANTS & THE SPANISH INQUISITION IN THE CANARIES

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ENGLISH MERCHANTS AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION IN THE CANARIES

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARCHIVES IN POSSESSION OF THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE

EDITED
FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BY
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INTRODUCTION

I

It was not until the year 1504 that the Suprema dispatched Lopez Tribaldos to establish the Inquisition in the Canaries.[1] After the discovery of America the islands had become of geographical importance as a port of call, their commerce had attracted traders from the northern European countries, and the non-existence of the Holy Office had occasioned an influx of Jews, after their expulsion from Spain. For these reasons the Suprema considered it essential to safeguard Catholic Faith by establishing the Holy Office in the islands, and as the number of foreign residents and visitors increased with time, the Canary Tribunal was always considered an important branch of the Inquisition.

With the exception of one or two isolated cases, Englishmen appear to have given very little trouble to the Inquisitors in the early days, but between the years 1586 and 96 a fair number of English sailors found their way to the secret cells. For the most part these Englishmen seem to have come into conflict in the first instance with the civil authorities, being arrested as pirates, or, after trade between the two countries was prohibited, as Englishmen trading under the guise of Scottish, Irish, or even Frenchmen. Before the Inquisition came into the case some special denunciation seems to have been necessary. There was no lack of persons, however, ready to make such denunciation, if the prisoners gave any cause of offence in matters of faith, or fell under suspicion. The Spanish conscience was extravagantly sensitive to heresy, a natural sensitiveness which was intensified by the annual edict of faith, which summoned the faithful in the name of all they held most sacred, under pain of the spiritual penalties they most dreaded, to assist the Holy Office in maintaining the purity of the Catholic Faith. The most humble citizen became in this way a co-operator in the work of the Holy Office, and denunciation could be, and in fact was, regarded as a sacred duty. As a precautionary measure,

[1] There are cases recorded as early as 1499 in the Canary archives, but they were the result of an inquiry held by the bishop, Diego de Muros, as ordinary Inquisitor.

however, witnesses were compelled to take oath, that they were not actuated by enmity or malice. Englishmen, or others, so denounced would be transferred from the public gaol to the secret cells. It may be generally accepted now that this was to the material advantage of the prisoner. Dr Lea admits that the average standard of the prisons of the Inquisition was considerably higher than that of other jurisdictions in Spain, as in other countries, and that if there were abodes of horror such as have been described by imaginative writers, they were wholly exceptional. The Englishmen, however, who escaped, or, who having completed their sentence of imprisonment, returned to England, brought back stories of indescribable cruelty practised on them by the Inquisition, and worked on the popular mind, until hatred of Spain rose to a pitch of frenzy, traces of which are still noticeable. But, as Sir John Laughton has pointed out in his Introduction to *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, there was only the men's word for this cruelty, and corroboration was necessary. Modern research does not provide such corroboration, and the dark stories of horrors perpetrated in the secret cells become more and more discredited.

The Prison Registers in Lord Bute's collection of the archives of the Canary Inquisition are, for this reason, perhaps the most valuable of the whole collection, and Dr de Gray Birch, in his able calendar of these archives, has supplied copious notes from them.[1]

It was a rule that the Inquisitors should visit the cells at intervals of about a fortnight, to ascertain the prisoners' needs, and listen to any complaints against the alcaide or governor. If a request was considered reasonable a marginal note instructs him to comply with it. There are occasional complaints of a shortage of bread and water, but the chief complaint is of the delay in the settlement of their cases.

One prisoner states that the wine provided is diluted with water and very bad, " which seems a pity"; he asks permission to have a barrel sent from his own house. He suggests that the purveyor, though no doubt a man of experience, does not appear to do the best with the money at his disposal. The same man asks for boiled or fried fish, bread, green vegetables and oranges, as the food provided is uneatable; he further complains of the cooking, and begs that he may be allowed to have his meals cooked at a relative's house. The alcaide was instructed to comply with the prisoner's

[1] Published by Blackwood and Sons.

requests, with the exception of the last, as his meals must be cooked with those of his fellow prisoners. It was a rule that prisoners having relatives willing to supply them with provisions were not to be compelled, or urged, to obtain them from the purveyor's office, but were to be allowed to receive them from their houses. Another rule provided that prisoners were not to be charged for wine if they did not drink it, but were to be supplied instead with anything else they chose. Still another rule laid down that prisoners were not to be spoken to abusively (*tratados mal de palabra*) or in any way terrorized, either by the Inquisitors or their subordinates.[1] At seasons of rejoicing, such as Christmas or Easter, it was customary for the Inquisitors to order an increase of rations. In cases of sickness the doctor was required to order a special diet, or the prisoner was removed to a hospital or private house for special care. All of which tends to show that the Holy Office was far ahead of other tribunals in the treatment of its prisoners. It is scarcely necessary to say that this does not mean that abuses were impossible and cruelty unknown in the secret cells, but it does mean that such abuses and such cruelty were an infringement by individuals of the humane regulations laid down for the guidance of the ministers of the Holy Office.

As to " perpetual imprisonment," a sentence passed on recanting heretics, according to Dr Lea there seems to have been a supreme disregard concerning its execution, from economical rather than humane motives. He states that the term became purely technical, and that the Inquisitors saw nothing incongruous in such sentences as " perpetual prison for one year," or for six months, which are constantly met with, as well as perpetual prison followed by terms of exile. He quotes from a memorial presented to the Suprema by the fiscal of Granada in 1654, in which he complains that the imprisonment is only nominal, " the so called prisoners go out at all hours of the day, without restriction, without a companion, without labour save what they voluntarily undertake, all of which is liberty, not captivity. They wander at will, through the city and suburbs, they amuse themselves at the houses of their friends, they spend, if they choose, only part of the night in prison, which serves them as comfortable lodging houses free of rent."[2]

Pending the settlement of their cases, prisoners were allowed their freedom within the city, being sworn not to leave it. Escapes

[1] *Diccionario de las leyes de la Inquisicion.* B. M. Egerton. 457–458.
[2] *A History of the Inquisition of Spain,* vol. III, p. 151 *et seq.*

from the islands were, however, frequent, in fact, such escapes, even in Spain, if not connived at, were at least accepted with philosophic calm. This would appear from a letter addressed by the Inquisition of Seville to the Council of the General Inquisition, June 12, 1597.[1] In announcing the flight from Seville of Edward Squire and Richard Rolls the Inquisitors state that they left behind them a letter addressed to their Jesuit Instructor, Father Richard Walpole, of the English College, calling on him to bear witness to the honesty of their conversion, and explaining that they are merely actuated by a desire to see their families, and to escape the misery they suffer in Spain. The Inquisitors add that no steps have been taken to recapture them, because *all* the Englishmen placed under instruction escape, "as we have many times reported," and it would be a great expense, and of little benefit to seek them.

Another point which strikes the student of these archives is the comparatively sparing use of torture, nor does this seem to be a special feature of the Canary Inquisition. Dr Lea, while pointing out that the Holy Office was not responsible for the introduction of torture, declares that as a rule it was less cruel in its application than the secular courts, and confined itself more strictly to a few well-known methods. "The popular impression," he says, "that the inquisitorial torture chamber was the scene of exceptional refinement in cruelty, of specially ingenious modes of inflicting agony, and of peculiar persistence in extorting confessions, is an error due to sensational writers, who have exploited credulity."[2]

Speaking generally, torture was a last resort, when solemn warnings and exhortations had failed to elicit a confession; even then, when brought to the torture chamber, confronted with the instruments of torture, and once again solemnly urged to speak the truth, a confession was frequently obtained, or at least the culprit's ingenuity was awakened in disguising the lie.

[1] *Papeles y Consultas Originales del Consejo de la Inquisicion*, Egerton, 1508, f. 311 *et seq.* The men referred to in this letter had been sentenced to two years' reclusion and to remain ten years in Spain. After receiving eight months' instruction they presented a petition to be allowed to return to England. In forwarding the petition from the English College at Valladolid, Father Joseph Cresswell states that he has heard from Father Richard Walpole, "brother of the martyr," that the men are honestly converted. Father Cresswell adds that they may be of use in England if a fleet is sent there. It will be noted that Squire was executed in England in 1598 for an alleged attempt to poison the Queen, in which he tried to implicate Father Walpole.

[2] Vol. III, p. 2.

The Canaries were duly notified of the Treaty of London, 1604, between England and Spain, by which Philip III engaged that no English subjects should be molested on the score of religion, unless they gave offence to Catholic feelings within Spanish dominions. Even before the ratification of the Treaty the projected peace was not without effect on the Holy Office in its dealing with Englishmen. This is shown by the case of Edward Monox, who had been drawn into a religious argument whilst visiting the Canaries. Amongst other things, on being confronted with the statement that Christ had said to St Peter that He would give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, Monox replied that Christ had also said "Get behind Me Satan," in addressing St Peter, a remark which occasioned great scandal to his Spanish hearers. The Consulta de Fé unanimously voted his arrest, with confiscation of property September 11, 1604, but before taking action it was decided to report the matter to Seville, informing the Suprema that the culprit was a wealthy merchant, who had twice visited the islands since Elizabeth's death, and was highly recommended by the Spanish Ambassador in London. Between anxiety to safeguard the Catholic Faith, and a desire to prevent a breach with England, the Inquisitors were sometimes in a delicate position. In a consulta submitted to the King, dated December 20, 1622, complaint is made of the conduct of English residents at Seville, which, the Inquisitors claim, have been met with great moderation on their part. Seventeen processes against English residents in Seville have, it is stated, been received, and to avoid trouble with the Ambassador, proceedings have been taken against only two, whose conduct had caused such grave scandal that it could not possibly be overlooked; and that another Englishman who came in the suite of the Ambassador Extraordinary was thrown into prison at Toledo for a few days, and condemned to perpetual exile from Spanish dominions for propagating his creed, but no further punishment was inflicted on him. That it has been thought advisable to notify the King of this, lest the Ambassador should approach his Majesty. A marginal note in the King's hand states that this moderation is all very well when the offence is not serious, and it is necessary to be careful in proceeding against Englishmen, but on no account must any offence be overlooked which might prove prejudicial to the faith.[1]

[1] *Papeles y Consultas del Consejo de la General Inquisicion*, Egerton, 1509, f. 77.

When war between England and Spain broke out in 1624, and the royal proclamation prohibiting trade with England was promulgated, the Canary tribunal was in some perplexity as to the course to pursue with respect to the many peaceful English residents who had taken no steps to leave the islands. One of the Inquisitors was of opinion that proceedings should be taken against them as avowed enemies of the Faith, but the remaining two stoutly maintained that, as the proclamation made no mention of residents, it would be a great wrong to take action against men who had given no occasion for offence, and the English were left unmolested. As they seem to have been men of wealth, whose property might have been confiscated, this decision speaks well for the justice of the Inquisitors. In fact, from the number of English and Dutch residents, it is safe to assume that the Inquisition did not greatly interfere with those who were circumspect in matters of faith. In a memorial addressed to the King, June 15, 1654, by the Holy Office, the number of English and Dutch residents is estimated at 1,500 in Teneriffe alone. The memorial was occasioned by the arrival in the islands of the fiscal of the Casa de la Contratacion of Seville to put a stop to the exportation of wine to the Indies. The Inquisitors feared that the result of closing this outlet for the Canary wine would be the total ruin of the islands, and as the Holy Office held ground rents on the vineyards, its support would then fall upon the King. This memorial lays great stress upon the importance of efficiently maintaining the Canary tribunal, because of the number of English and other heretics residents, or visitors, in the islands, who, it is stated, are only kept in check by the vigilance of the Inquisition.[1] These foreign residents were not only subject to Spanish laws, but also to the restrictions of the Holy Office, thus in 1645 the tribunal ordered its commissioners at Orotava to visit the houses of the English and other heretics, and to report to the Inquisition what books or pictures they possessed. The commissioner was urged to act with as much prudence and discretion as possible. Amongst others, the houses of the English merchants, Throgmorton, Michelborne and Ward, were searched, but nothing of importance was found in them.

In spite of its moderation, the Holy Office was an object of hatred to the islanders, and a good deal of its time was occupied in unedifying conflicts with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Don Antonio Ruiz Padron, the Canary deputy to the Cortes of

[1] Millares' *Historia de la Inquisicion en las Islas Canarias*, vol. III, p. 153.

Cadiz in 1813, met to discuss the suppression of the Inquisition, expressed the feelings of the majority of his countrymen in his fiery denunciation of the Holy Office. "Omnis plantatio quam non plantavit Pater meus cœlistis eradicabitur," with these words he proceeded to denounce the Inquisition as a spurious growth, a clog upon the Church, an insult to Spanish loyalty to Catholicism, an usurpation of episcopal authority. Some twenty years previously Padron had become acquainted in Philadelphia with Benjamin Franklin, whom he used to meet at Washington's house, where many ministers of the Protestant faith assembled for discussions, chiefly on religious subjects. Padron, then a young priest, was known as the papist, he described to the Cortes his feelings when, on one occasion, the whole assembly turned on him in a body, and demanded how he could defend a church that had invented the Inquisition. To their surprise, instead of attacking his opponents he boldly attacked the Inquisition itself, declaring it to be a purely human institution, contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, as much the work of kings as of the Roman curia. Franklin challenged him to take up the same line of defence in public, and the intrepid Spaniard boldly repeated his denunciation from the pulpit of the Catholic Church of Philadelphia. The sermon was translated into English, and delivered again by one of the parish priests before an enormous audience of persons of all sects. Padron then made a tour of the States, preaching the same doctrine. This was the story that the Canary deputy told the Cortes. His speech was by far the most remarkable of all. Sir Edward Pellew, then Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, moved by a laudable desire to promote a better understanding between his countrymen and Spain, caused the speech to be translated and published from on board his flagship the "Caledonia."[1]

Though scarcely a fair indictment of the Holy Office, it is an interesting specimen of fiery oratory.

When the edict for the suppression of the Holy Office reached the Canaries it was received amid popular rejoicing.

The number of Englishmen actually punished in the public autos by the Canary Inquisition, according to the lists published by Millares, is: one burnt in person for attacking the Catholic faith, and refusing to abjure, four burnt in effigy as apostates, and twenty-four reconciled and penanced. Of course a larger number than this were at different times imprisoned in the secret cells.

L. DE ALBERTI.

[1] There is a copy of this pamphlet in the British Museum (4,071, b·37).

II

The Inquisition Records, from which the following extracts are taken, are interesting not only from the religious but also from the commercial point of view. They afford one more instance of the difficulty governments have in repressing trade, when the general interest of the traders is against them.

The period covered by these extracts is that of the Spanish wars in Elizabeth's reign—perhaps the most deadly conflict in which England was ever engaged till her struggle with Napoleon; yet the majority of these Inquisition prisoners were sailors and merchants who were concerned, or had been concerned in trade (agreeably mixed with piracy) with Spain or its dependencies. This curious fact in Elizabethan history receives full illustration in these papers, and is corroborated from many other sources. Another noteworthy question that arises is, what these traders, who had their ventures out to Brazil and Barbary, to the West Indies, and the East, were doing at the Canary Islands. The answer is brief: they came there, first for food and water, secondly for piracy, and thirdly for trade.

The Canary Islands, from their position, form an exceedingly convenient watering and victualling station for ships trading either to Africa or America. The English had not been slow in discovering this, and Hawkins had made the islands a station in his early slaving voyages; and was said to have made friends there by "his good and upright dealing."[1] Some of these friends, like Pedro de Ponte, of Teneriffe, and his son Nicholas, had an interest in his venture, and were said to have supplied him with a pilot on his first voyage to San Domingo.[2] In 1567 four of the Queen's ships joined in one of Hawkins' raids in the teeth of the remonstrances of the Spanish Ambassador. In vain the Queen assured him that the ships would not go to the West Indies. He absolutely, and correctly, disbelieved her. In fact English trade with the Canaries and the Indians was of old standing. In 1526 the merchants of Bristol, trading through their factors at St Lucar, had laden a ship bound for the West Indies with cloths for the Canaries, which they exchanged for kid skins and orchel.[3] By 1568 the Spanish Ambassador wrote that there were many rich English

[1] *Hakluyt Soc. Hawkins' Voyages*, ed. Markham, pp. 5, 10–13, and pp. 123–5.
[2] *Sim. Trans.*, 1567, vol. I, pp. 660–1.
[3] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., vol. VI, p. 124.

ships at the Canaries.[1] In the same year John Chilton, an English merchant in Spain, took in lading at the Canaries and sailed for the West Indies.[2] In 1578 Whithall, an English merchant in Brazil, wrote to his London correspondent to load a ship at London with Devon and Hampshire "Karsies" and send her to the Canaries. There the clothes were to be sold and fifteen tons of good wine and six dozen Cordovan skins and a quantity of oil were to be taken on board.[3] Possibly the nature of this trade, with few direct returns to England from the Canaries, may account for the fact that the Spanish Company in no way interfered with it.

If the Canary Isles were convenient for English trade to the West Indies, they were equally convenient for other nations; and since they were a rendezvous for merchant ships, it naturally followed that they were a rendezvous for pirates. The English found them a very suitable point at which to intercept the Spanish Plate fleets. The islands themselves were comparatively safe. It is true that in 1571 Winter attacked Teneriffe;[4] but no island was actually captured by the English till Cumberland took Lanzarote in 1596. The neighbourhood of the Canaries, however, was perhaps the most dangerous in the Atlantic Ocean. Grenville and Champernowne hung about them in 1574.[5] The first report whenever Drake put to sea was that he intended to go to the Canaries; and lesser men followed in the wake of these famous captains.

But Englishmen visited the Islands with other objects than those of securing supplies for their colonial voyages or of capturing other ships bent on a similar errand. The Bristol merchants already mentioned had established a trade between the Canaries and England; and in 1538 Charles V granted to the English merchants trading to San Lucar and Andalusia the right to trade to all parts of the Spanish dominions, with the tacit—though vital—exception of the Indies.[6] This grant, of course, covered the Canaries, and the King of Spain was apparently willing to protect the English traders; thus he made good the losses of Thomas Wyndham, who had been attacked as a pirate by the inhabitants of Lanzarote; and this, although the Englishman had retaliated in kind.[7]

[1] *Sim. Trans.*, 1568, p. 94.
[2] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., vol. IX, p. 361.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 27–8.
[4] *Sim. Trans*, 1571, p. 339.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1574, p. 481.
[6] Harl. MSS., 36, pp. 25 *sqq.*
[7] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. VI, 139–40.

By 1555 English factors and agents were established in Grand Canary;[1] and a steady trade was probably going on in textiles from England, and wine, sugar, and drugs from the Islands. Wine, indeed, had not yet attained the importance it afterwards reached; it was chiefly produced in Palma, and was reported by Hawkins to be better than any in Spain. It was said to be obtained from grapes as big as damsons.[2] Dragon's blood, orchel and wheat are among the Canary products mentioned by the factor Thomas Nicholson in 1560,[3] but the chief product of the Canaries at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was sugar, which was chiefly grown in Teneriffe and Palma; as early as 1526 there were twelve ingenios for sugar in the latter island,[4] and according to an English factor, Edward Kingsmill, in 1561, almost all payments in the island were made in sugar; he himself, he declared, although he brought about 2,000 ducats to the Canaries, had never subsequently received as much as 500 ducats cash. As he was defending himself against a charge of exporting money, there may be some exaggeration in these statements; but the sum is striking in contrast with that of 30,000 ducats which he declared to be the value of one only of his transactions.[5]

The last amount is the largest mentioned in connexion with English trade to the Canaries at this period. Kingsmill's contemporary, Thomas Nicholas, stated that his masters, Edward Casklyn and Anthony Hickman, well-known Londoners, lost 14,000 ducats by his imprisonment;[6] and at a later date Charles Chester, another victim of the Inquisition, declared that he had lost 4,500 ducats from this cause.[7]

It is significant that the arrest of the two factors, mentioned above, took place immediately on the accession of Elizabeth. At the same time it must be noted that the accusation against Kingsmill was that of violating commercial regulations. Besides the charge of exporting money, he was denounced for keeping his books in English, instead of in Spanish, as had been directed by a decree

[1] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. IX, 341.
[2] *Hawkins' Voyages* (Hakluyt Soc.), Markham ed. p. 12 and pp. 123–5.
[3] *A pleasant description of the Fortunate Ilands called the Ilands of the Canaries. See* also *Hakluyt's Voyages*.
[4] A. Anderson, *Historical Deduction*, II, 48.
[5] *Eliz. St. P. For. Cal.*, 1561, pp. 256–8, No. 412.
[6] *Eliz. St. P. For. Cal.*, 1561, p. 251, No. 407, and 1564, p. 137, No. 411.
[7] Hatfield MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.) IV, p. 222.

in 1554–5. He declared the English books to be simply a translation for his master's benefit, but he was fined 1,000 ducats.[1]

So far the affair might have happened in any place where, as Kingsmill explained, the judge received two-thirds of the fine; nor does the action of the Colonial authorities in this case appear to have had the full support of the central Spanish Government, as the latter remitted the sentence of banishment at first passed on the defendant, while in 1561, Philip II wrote to the Canaries in favour of the English.[2]

But the fact that Elizabeth's accession had added religious to commercial difficulties was shown by the further accusation against Kingsmill of desiring to set up a new religion "and every man to live according as he would himself";[3] his fellow factor, Nicholas, was accused of disrespect for religion, or, by his own account, "of living according to English law." He was imprisoned for about three years by the Holy Office, "seeing neither sun nor moon," and was sent to Seville before he was released.[4]

Again, in 1562, an English pinnace at the Canaries was seized and searched on the same pretext of religious offences.[5] It is noteworthy that in these cases Philip declined to interfere even so far as to order the restoration of goods belonging to other persons which had been in the hands of the prisoners at the time of their arrest, and had therefore been confiscated by the Inquisition.[6]

As time went on, and the hostility of Spain and England increased, the English showed a strong disposition to take matters into their own hands. Thus, when in 1575, Charles Chester was imprisoned in the Canaries on the charge of heresy, his father, a merchant of Bristol, begged leave of Elizabeth to go to the Canaries and seize Spaniards to hold as hostages till his son was freed. He was informed in true Elizabethan fashion that he might do so, if he kept the prisoners in his own ship till "a resolution was taken."[7]

[1] *Eliz. Cal. St. P. For.*, 1561, pp. 256–8, No. 412, and *St. P. For. MSS.*, vol. XL., No. 340.

[2] *Eliz. Cal. St. P. For.*, 1561, p. 213, No. 354.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 256–8, No. 412.

[4] He seems to have returned to England, and apparently wrote the account of the Canary Islands which appears in *Hakluyt's Voyages*. *Eliz. For. St. P. MSS.*, vol. XL, No. 340, and *Eliz. Cal. St. P. For.*, 1564, p. 137, No. 411.

[5] *Eliz. Cal. St. P. For.*, 1562, p. 627, No. 1461.

[6] *Eliz. Cal. St. P. For.*, 1561, p. 213, No. 354.

[7] *Sim. Trans.*, 1575, p. 497. Eventually Charles Chester, who had professed himself a Catholic, escaped and came to England, where he was subsequently arrested as a recusant! (*Hatfield MSS.*, vol. IV, p. 221–2.)

The arrests, however, of English actually living in the Canary Isles seem to have been exceptional. Possibly persons already established there had too many friends and connexions to be very open to attack; possibly also Englishmen who preferred such a residence may have had a sincere leaning to the old religion. Certainly neither religious nor political motives were likely to persuade them to relinquish a profitable trade. Throughout Elizabeth's reign Englishmen inhabited the islands. In 1571 Elizabeth herself wrote to the Queen of Spain on behalf of one Richard Grafton who had lived for twenty years in the Canaries and desired more profitable employment. Throughout the Anglo-Spanish War factors continued to live in the islands, as is clearly shown by the Records of the Inquisition. In 1598 an Englishman was arrested in consequence of Cumberland's seizure of Lanzarote, on the charge of intending to betray Teneriffe to the English.[1] And in 1595, after Raleigh's attack on Teneriffe, there is a curious mention of the arrest of a youth who was accused of " being of Plymouth "—which he apparently was—" but the Governor made all well again."[2]

Of the rise or fall of trade during this period there is no record. There were other than political reasons for its decline. About this time the Canary Isles seem to have undergone a series of misfortunes. In 1585 there was a destructive earthquake at Palma. In the following year the Turks took Lanzarote. In 1591 the poverty of the islanders was so great that Philip II permitted them to send their produce in his ships to the West Indies.[3] Moreover, what had been the staple trade of the islands was certainly decaying. The competition of Barbary, Brazil and the West Indies was injuring the sugar trade of the Canaries, at least so far as England was concerned. We find the islands sometimes omitted from the lists of places whence sugar was obtained,[4] and even had the trade continued it would hardly have been profitable. The English now obtained their sugar by cheaper methods than fair trading; the quantity brought into England from Spanish prizes was so great that in 1591 the sugar was said to be absolutely cheaper in London than at Lisbon or the West Indies.[5]

The decline, if decline there was, of trade could have been only

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, vol. IX, p. 116.
[2] *Eliz. Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1595, p. 41, No. 18.
[3] *St. P. For. MSS. Spain*, bundle 4, No. 1A.
[4] *Eliz. Cal. Dom. St. P.*, 1593, p. 361, No. 52.
[5] *St. P. Cal. Venetian*, 1591, No. 1,020.

temporary. As the sugar trade sank, the wine trade probably rose. Palma was already famous for wines, and in Hiero a certain Englishman, John Hill, of Taunton, had planted a vineyard among the rocks.[1] Irrigation was making vine growing more profitable, and in 1587 it was said that a large part of the sugar plantations in the island were being transformed into vineyards.[2] In 1596 28,000 butts of sack were said to be produced yearly at Teneriffe.[3] There is no precise evidence of the amount of Canary wine consumed in England; but Shakespeare's numerous allusions to it would alone suffice to show that it was a favourite drink. In 1580 the quantity brought into Ireland was given as one reason for a reconsideration of the duty on wine.[4] In 1600 an order was given for eighty-four pipes of Canary wine, at £10 10s. the pipe, to be provided for Lancaster's East Indian voyage.[5]

How the wine got into England is not clear. Presumably, some of it arrived in the ordinary way of trade, to judge from a list of imports and exports in 1595, in which, with calm disregard of the difficulties arising from the war, the Canaries are described as supplying Canary wine, Madeira and sugar, and receiving in return not only coarse cloth (not including Manchester cottons), but lead, dried Newfoundland fish, pilchards, and red herrings.[6] Possibly the eighteen or twenty hulks from the Canaries which arrived at Plymouth in 1599 may have been traders.[7] As in the case of sugar, a considerable amount of Canary wine was the prize of war. In 1597 Cumberland sent home a ship containing, among other lading, 142 pipes of Canary wine.[8] But a large quantity of goods both from the Canaries and from Spain probably came through St Malo and Morlaix, or Bordeaux and Rochelle, with which places the western ports of England—Lyme, Poole, and Plymouth—kept up an energetic trade all through the Spanish War. Their exports were usually cloth, and fish and Cornish tin; and they received, among other goods, Seville oil, Madeira and Canary wines.[9] In one way and another, therefore, some degree

[1] *A Pleasant Description*, etc.
[2] *Cal. Ven. St. P.*, 1587, No. 449.
[3] *Purchas, Pilgrimes* (1906 ed.), vol. xvi, p. 9.
[4] *Carew Papers*, 1580, p. 285.
[5] *Cal. Col. St. P.* (East Indies), 1600, p. 114.
[6] *Eliz. Dom. St. P. MSS.*, 1595, vol. 255, No. 56.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 272, No. 80.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 263, No. 85.
[9] *K. R. Original Customs Account*, 123–24, 46–46, 118–24, etc.

of trade was maintained. In 1601, it is true, its decay was considered as one reason for urging peace with Spain.[1] Nevertheless, the most critical period for English traders and denizens in the Canaries probably ended in 1597, when, possibly as a consequence of the Dutch attack on the island, all Flemish and English prisoners in the "Holy House" were released.[2] With the treaty of 1604 English trade with the Canary Isles revived and continued peaceably. It was again a recognized and legitimate branch of commerce; but these Inquisition Records serve, with other evidence, to show that the treaty rather legalized than re-established it. The very presence of the English prisoners in the Inquisition cells shows how continuous was the intercourse between Spain and England; and the evidence at their trials indicates the laxity and impotence of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in both countries. The chief impression created by these records is that of the mass of living interdependent private interests which existed apart from the wars and policies of states.

A. B. WALLIS CHAPMAN.

[1] *S.P. For. MSS. Spain Treaty Papers*, No. 64.
[2] *Ibid.*, bundle 6, Feb. 1, 1597.

THE INQUISITION IN THE CANARIES[1]

I. ENGLISH TEXT

Vol. XII. First Series.

The Fiscal against Huer (Ware?) an Englishman, resident of Teneriffe.

Denunciation.
Information.
Qualification.
Votes.
Auto of imprisonment.
Mandate.
Monitions 1, 2, 3.
Accusation.
Proof.
Ratification of Witnesses.
Publication.
Communication.
Conclusion.

Fourth Process in this volume. The sentence of relaxation of this culprit, with the record of its execution, and other documents are included in the case of Richard Newman, given later. f. 163.

In the city of San Cristobal in this Island of Teneriffe, on the 5th day of the month of August in the year 1586, there appeared before the Reverend Friar Diego de Camora, commissary of the Holy Office . . . licentiate Diego de Arguijo, *alguazil mayor* of the Holy Office, . . .

Said, that within the last few days certain persons mentioned as a well-known fact, that the Englishmen taken on land in these islands, brought hither by a pirate ship [one of whom is in service with the Dominican friars, and the other in the service of the Governor of this island], visited and carried food to an English prisoner in the public gaol; who was found on land brought hither from heretic lands (*partes de . . . exe*) and left by a pirate ship. And

[1] As the documents in these cases are very lengthy, it is only possible to give short representative extracts, which are, however, sufficient for the thread of the story to be followed. Much of the evidence, etc., omitted is mere repetition. The references to the MSS. is, unless otherwise stated, to the *Archives of the Canary Inquisition.*

that these men must all be friends, thieves, and Lutherans; and it was unwise to allow them outside the prison. And in particular they mentioned as a matter of common report, that the Englishman in the service of the Dominicans never enters a church. . . . (f. 168)

1st Witness.

And after the aforesaid, on the 13th day of August . . ., appeared Friar Gaspar Cordero, prior of the Dominican monastery, . . .

Questioned, whether he has heard the said John, Englishman, say that he wishes to be a Christian, and observe the Catholic religion,

Replied, that this witness has heard the said John, Englishman, say that he wishes to be a Christian, . . .

Questioned, whether he has noticed that the said John, Englishman, did not follow the advice given him, . . .

Replied, that it is true that witness has never known him to attend Mass, or show any inclination to do so, and that he always remains in the kitchen, and occupies himself with the duties thereof, and from these external signs witness has not received a favourable impression as to the said John's observance of the Catholic Religion, but he has not heard him say anything contrary to our Holy Catholic Faith.

Questioned, whether he knows that the said John, Englishman, holds intercourse with another Englishman named Thomas, in the service of the Governor of this island, and if he knows whether he has sent food from the kitchen by the said Thomas to another Englishman detained in the prison,

Replied, that this witness has seen and knows that the said John, Englishman, frequently converses in his own language with the said Thomas, Englishman, but he does not understand their language. And that on one occasion witness was informed by one of the friars, he cannot remember by whom, that the said John had taken a basin of food to the said English prisoner, and witness scolded the said John for taking food to the said prisoner, and the said John replied that he had merely taken him his own allowance, and witness scolded him and forbade him to take his own or any other food to the English prisoner, or hold any intercourse with him, as he was a Lutheran, . . . (f. 169)

2nd Witness.

And after the aforesaid there appeared on this same day . . . Friar Alonso Binol, religious of the Order of St Dominic, . . .

Questioned whether he has seen the said John, Englishman, hold intercourse with an Englishman named Thomas, . . .

Replied, that this witness has frequently seen the said John steal whatever he could from the kitchen to give it to the said Thomas, but cannot say whether the latter took it to the English prisoner,[1] . . . (f. 171)

In Canary, 7th day of the month of August, 1586, the Inquisitor Licentiate, Francisco Madaleno, holding his morning audience commanded that a certain man be brought in from the prisons. . . .

Questioned, says he is John Smith, a native of Bristol, . . .

This offender was arrested upon evidence that he had said that it would be better for monks to marry, than to have intercourse with one woman one day, and another the next.

In the first audiences given him he confessed that his parents were old Christians, and lived in the observance of the old religion taught and preached in England before the reign of the present queen, and that he had lived in the observance of the new religion; . . . (f. 184)

In Canary, 8th day of August, 1586, Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno . . . commanded that the said John Smith be brought in from the prisons, the interpreter, Giles Grifon, being present. . . .

Said, that it was a year upon this last feast of S[t] James that he embarked in England in the port of Southampton, in a ship named the "Primrose,"[2] Captain Alexander Hale, carrying stores only, bound to Newfoundland[3] for the fishing; and close to Cape St

[1] Other friars give similar evidence to the effect that the said John Ware had demanded instruction in the Catholic Faith, and had begun to learn the prayers, but that his zeal had cooled considerably, and he had never been known to attend Mass. The supplying food to heretics was considered as favouring them.

[2] The ship called "Primrose" may possibly be identical with a vessel of that name of 55 tons burthen mentioned in a list of ships in 1582 as belonging to Southampton. (*El. Dom. St. P.*, vol. 156, No. 45.) It is obviously not identical with the more famous "Primrose" of London. Shipping at Southampton was said to have much increased in recent years.

[3] Smith's account of the destination and lading of the "Primrose" is rather perplexing. Unless she intended to take in salt in Portugal, there appears to be no special reason why she should have gone to Cape St Vincent on her way to Newfoundland. Gilbert's sailing directions for Newfoundland in 1583 ordered the ships to proceed in a south-westerly direction as far as 43° or 44°—much to the north of St Vincent. (*Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., vol. VIII, p. 45.) On the other hand, ships bound for the West Indies of course proceeded in a southerly direction. In 1587 Drake in laying down a plan for

Vincent two French ships[1] from a fleet of four, bore down on them, and boarded the ship in which this witness was, and seized it by force of arms, killed two men, and took all the stores and fish, and taking the ship from them gave them a small caravel of about twenty tons, which they entered, without provisions.

And as they had no food, there being some among them known to Jofre Lopes (?)[2] Englishman, resident of Teneriffe, they determined to make for that place, and in the vicinity of Lanzarote, between that island and Fuerteventura, another large French ship with its tender attacked the caravel in which witness and the others were, and killed the captain and two of their comrades, and putting the rest ashore at Fuerteventura, took what they thought best, and set the caravel adrift, when it ran on the coast and was lost. And that seventeen men with this witness landed in Fuerteventura, one of whom named Christopher, whose surname he cannot remember, remained with the governor of Fuerteventura, and the rest, sixteen in number, were sent hither in boats at different times, of whom the following are at present in this city:

1. John Gold, married in England, at present with P. de Serpa.
2. William Baker, who is with Pedro de Medina.
3. Melchior Devlin (Diuelem) who is in the country at Arucas.
4. Edward Stride, and
5. Michael, whose surname witness does not know, who is making powder in the country.
6. William Ware, who is with Canon Maldonado.

harrying the Spaniards, suggested a southward run to Cape Blanco and then to the Azores, and so to Cartagena, where the Mexican ships might be intercepted, and then on to Newfoundland. (*Simancas Transcripts*, 1587, p. 20, No. 21.) Without attributing such large designs to the "Primrose," it may be suspected that her presence at Cape St Vincent was not wholly due to her desire to go to Newfoundland.

[1] About this period French pirates were as active as English. Calais was a nest of marauders. A specially large amount of plunder taken by the French from English ships between 1575 and 1580, and their activity diminished but little during later years. Between 1562 and 1586 French seizures of English goods were estimated at about £127,331, while from 1560 to 1586 the English restored to France in compensation for goods plundered by English pirates only £56,807; but disproportion between the estimates of debts owing and debts actually paid will perhaps account for this difference. (*Lansd. MSS.*, 148, No. 30, ff. 60–70.)

[2] There is no further information about this man, who does not appear to have been called to give evidence. His name suggests that he might be of Cornish descent: for the residence of English merchants and factors in the Canaries, see Introduction, Part II.

7. Thomas Simms and
8. William Winter, who are in Teneriffe; and that a Portuguese caravel, which had brought nuts and linen, left this place and took the aforesaid two men to Fuerteventura, and witness cannot say whether they both were taken to Teneriffe, or one of them elsewhere. And that a Dominican friar took another Englishman, named John Ware, to Teneriffe, being a nephew of the Englishman, who is in the house of Canon Maldonado, and another a gunner, died in the hospital of this city, ... (f. 184b)

In Canary, 19th day of the month of September, 1586, the Inquisitor . . . commanded that a certain man be brought in . . . who answered as follows:

Questioned, said his name is John Gold, native of Southampton, in England, that he is thirty-seven years of age; and he declared his genealogy in the following manner:[1]

This offender was arrested upon information given against him, that, it being the precept of the Queen of England that in observance of the new religion prayers should be offered to God twice a day, by the priest appointed for that purpose, in the manner in which they are accustomed to pray; and that no meat should be eaten on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays in observance of the said order, and of the precept of the new religion, during the whole of the recent voyage, which to the day he was put ashore in Fuerteventura, would be more than a month, the master of the vessel taking the place of a priest and summoning the men with a silver whistle twice a day; the accused attended and took part in the said prayers, kneeling close to the priest, and with the other men replying to what the priest read from an English book. That he also abstained from meat in observance of the precept of the new religion, upon the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays of the said month; and upon the information against him that from all external

[1] The declaration of genealogy was asked to ascertain whether the prisoner was or was not of pure blood—that is to say, whether he was descended from Jews, Moors, heretics, or any persons penanced or reconciled by the Inquisition. To the Spaniard it was a matter of sufficient importance because of the disabilities such kinship entailed. In consequence of an edict promulgated in the Canaries in 1574 relating to persons making false declarations of "limpieza," or pure blood, there was a number of denunciations of men suspected of being of Jewish origin, such declarations being made seemingly to obtain licence to go to the Indies, or to hold different offices otherwise closed to them.

signs he observes the new religion. Who, in his confessions, has confessed that he was baptized when the Catholic Faith was observed in England, which faith his parents still observe at the present day; and that in his childhood he has heard many masses in England, and that he lived in the belief of the old religion until now four years since, when upon the persuasion of the priest of the new creed he came to believe in the latter. That during those four years he confessed and received communion from the hands of the said priest four times; that no absolution was given him after confession, and that he went to communion without receiving any penance whatever, and that at communion the priest gave him a white host. That in communicating he believed that he received Jesus Christ as he is in Heaven, and held that by this confession and communion he would gain heaven and his sins would be forgiven him, notwithstanding that he knew all this was contrary to the old religion and to the Catholic Faith. And that he also went to sermons, but is now converted to the old faith, and desires to die in the observance of the Catholic Faith, and asks that a penance be given him for what he has done. . . . (f. 187)

In Canary 1st day of October . . . the Inquisitor . . . commanded a certain man to be brought in from the prisons. . . .

Questioned: Says his name is William Baker, and that he is a native of Southampton in England[1]; . . .

This offender was arrested because it being a precept of the new religion; . . .

In Canary 16th day of the month of October . . . the Inquisitor . . . commanded a certain man to be brought in from the prison. . . .

Says, that his name is Michael James, (Chemes) native of Cornwall in England . . . that he has attended prayers in the churches of England twenty times when the priest was holding the service; for which purpose the priest went into a high place, his face turned to the people, and read out from an English book, he does not know what. That the priests are married, but he does not know whether the preachers are. And that he has only attended a sermon

[1] The examination and evidence given by William Baker (Vaquer), of Southampton, Christopher Tristram of the same place, Peter Johnson of Poole (Lapola), Mark Colman of Studland (Hesteulan), William Ware of Southampton, and Richard Herman (Guerman), native of Dublin (Duielen), present no new features. The usual questions as to the services on board, and the religious condition of England were put to them. Most of the crew of this vessel were arrested for taking part in the services on board.

once, because since the age of six he has been in the service of a fisherman, and has always been engaged in fishing. And that the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays of Lent are fast days in England, only bread and beer being allowed, and that the remaining days of the week, including Sundays, fish is eaten, but they are not fast days. That there are also three fast days before Pentecost, the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and some vigils of festivals, such as Christmas, St Clement, St Catherine and other feasts are fast days; and upon these days he fasted, which fasts are performed by order of the priest. That these said priests live in observance of the religion now preached in England. That every one in England is compelled to receive communion at Easter time, but nevertheless he did not do so, but remained kneeling and striking his breast, while those who were to communicate knelt round a table at some distance from him, and the priest gave them a little bread white as paper, saying as he did so: "Take this in remembrance that Christ died for you. . . . (f. 195)

Votes. In Canary 23rd day of the month of August 1586, the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno during the afternoon audience considered, together with Licentiate Pedro del Castillo, the evidence against John Ware, of English nationality, servant of the Dominican friars, and they were all of unanimous opinion that he should be arrested, and his property confiscated; . . . (f. 211)

1st Audience. In Canary 13th day of the month of September . . . the Inquisitor Francisco Madaleno commanded a man to be brought in from the cells. . . . .

Said, that his name is John Ware, native of Swanage (Soneche) in England, that he is seventeen years of age and a fisherman, and that six days since he was brought a prisoner to the cells. He declared his genealogy in the following manner. . . .

Questioned as to what religion is observed by his said parents

Said, that they live alone and no other person lives in their house, in which there are images which they told him were of God and Holy Mary, but that these images are kept secret as if it were known his parents would be burnt, because the Queen is a Lutheran. . . . (f. 214)

2nd Audience. . . . Questioned, whether this confessant in abstaining from meat on Wednesdays thought he was serving God, and what he thought to gain thereby.

Said, that meat was prohibited by the Queen's order, and for this reason he abstained from it, because had he been seen eating it he would have been thrown into prison, but he did not think that he was doing any good work, because his mother had told him that according to the old faith one might very well eat meat on Wednesdays. . . . (f. 217)

In Canary 18th day of September . . . the Inquisitor . . . said that as the cells were occupied, and as there were other persons to be sent there, and as the said John was being fed at the expense of the fiscal[1] who has not the wherewithal to provide for him, he commanded, and commands, that the said John be placed in the Dominican monastery . . . until his case should be concluded, the friars being charged to instruct him in Christian doctrine.[2] . . . (f. 222)

Publication.

1st Witness. To the first witness of the said publication, and first charge, it being read to him, he answered:

That as to this first charge there is no foundation for it, as this confessant went to Mass on Sundays and festivals, and gave proofs of being a Christian.

2nd Witness. To the second charge of this said witness, he answered:

That it is true that on one occasion only this confessant sent his rations to an English prisoner in the public prison, but he has never seen or spoken to him, but has been told that he comes from Bristol, and that he came ashore with others at Teneriffe below Garachico, for the purpose of robbing a sugar plantation, and that he received a sword wound and was caught; and that this was told him before they were imprisoned, as this confessant has never spoken to him, but sent the food by a boy from the prisons who came

[1] If a prisoner had means, he was obliged to pay for his own maintenance. Separate accounts were kept distinguishing those who paid and the poor who were to be maintained at the expense of the Holy Office. Slaves were maintained by their masters, members of a religious order by their superiors. The accounts are kept with great minuteness, as also the inventories of the clothing, etc., brought in with the prisoner, and fully illustrate the careful and precise methods employed by the Inquisitors. (For extracts from the Account Books see *Birch*, vol. 1, 356-362.)

[2] Many of the stages of this case have been omitted, being mere repetition of the evidence against the accused. The chief charges against him were that he had attended the English Church when, it was assumed, he had received instruction in the Catholic Faith, and also that, having demanded instruction in the Catholic religion, he did not act upon it.

to beg for the prisoners, and that the father provincial told this confessant that he must not send any more food to the said Englishman, because he was a Lutheran.

Questioned, whether this confessant knows what it is to be a Lutheran

Said, that he understands that to be a Lutheran means not to attend mass and to steal, and he could give no other explication whatever. . . .

Questioned, whether this confessant knows whether the master of the ship "Stephen Tangye" (Estanque) and the mariners observe the old or the new religion

Said, that they all observe the new religion, as no other is taught.

Questioned, whether in that case this confessant thinks the said Jofre Lopez when living among them over there, would be allowed to observe any other religion than the one there taught

Said, that this confessant understands, and is certain, that when the said Jofre Lopez is in the city of Southampton, he is compelled to live like the rest, that is in the observance of the new religion,[1] because there are guards who look to this, who are the governors, who take and throw into prison those who do not observe the new religion. . . . (f. 230)

Canary 14th day of March, 1586 . . . the Inquisitor . . . commanded that the said John Ware be brought in, who, being present, was asked whether he has remembered anything further. . . .

Said, that he has nothing further to add. . . .

He was reminded that he has been many times admonished to speak the entire truth as to all that he himself has said or done, or that he knows others to have said or done . . .; but that he has not wished to do so, as by this said process it appears that he conceals many things; . . . and he is admonished in the name of God, Our Lord, and of his glorious and blessed Mother, Our Lady the Virgin Mary, to speak and confess the entire truth as to what

[1] In connexion with this alleged conduct of Lopez, it is interesting to note that a few years previously (1582) it was stated that the religious condition of Southampton was exceedingly lax. Atheists and "Papists" were admitted to the best places in the town, and there was much "kicking and pricking against preaching ministers." (*Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 156, No. 43.) If Southampton was frequented by merchants who changed their religion with their latitude, religious enthusiasm was hardly to be expected. On the other hand, the constant intercourse maintained by this port with Southern European countries may have tended to perpetuate the "old religion." At all events, Hampshire is said to have contained an unusual number of recusants.

has been testified, and as to whatever else he has done or said, or knows that others have done or said in prejudice of Our Holy Catholic Faith, without concealing anything on his own, or on the part of others, or raising false witness against himself or another; as thus he will unburden his conscience as a faithful Christian, and all possible mercy will be shown him. But if not, he is notified that this process has been examined by persons of learning and of upright conscience, who are of opinion that he should be put to torture, that therein he may speak the truth.

Said, that he has nothing further to say, as he has spoken the truth.

And then the said Inquisitor and Ordinary seeing that the said John Ware was "negative," pronounced the following sentence:

. . . Christi nomine invocato. We find having considered the proceedings and merits of this case, from signs and suspicions resulting therefrom against the said John Ware, that we must condemn him, and we do condemn him to be put to torture, which we command shall be continued during such time as we think fit, that therein he may speak the truth, as to that which has been testified, and of which he is accused.

And we protest unto him, that if in the said torture he should die, or be maimed, or if any effusion of blood or mutilation of any member should ensue, the fault must lie with him, and not with us, because he has not willed to speak the truth. And by this our sentence, we thus pronounce and command; . . .

And upon this order was given to proceed to the torture chamber, to which the said Inquisitor and Ordinary went, and arriving there order was given for the arms of the said John Ware to be tied, and being thus tied:

He was admonished by the love of God to speak the truth, and not to bring this great trouble on himself.

Said; that here in the Dominican monastery, about eleven days after his coming to the island, he became a Christian.

Questioned as to who taught him. . . .

Replied, the Dominican friars.

Questioned as to what they taught him. . . .

Replied, to pray, and to attend Mass daily.

Questioned what prayers the friars taught him

Replied: the Our Father, the Creed, and the Salve Regina were taught to him immediately on his arrival in the island.

He is informed that in the first audience given him, he was

unable to repeat well the Our Father and the Salve, from which it is inferred that he is not speaking the truth in saying that he learnt these prayers immediately upon arrival in the island.

Replied; that he learnt them when this Holy Office sent him to the Dominican monastery of this town.

He is informed that according to this he was not converted to the Catholic Faith at the time he said, that is when he first came to this island.

Replied; that it is true that until he was taken prisoner by the Holy Office he had always lived in the errors of the new religion of England, but when he was arrested by the Holy Office, he rejected them with all his heart, and returned to our Holy Catholic Faith.

Questioned whether it is true that for this reason, that is that he was not converted to our Holy Catholic Faith until he was imprisoned by the Holy Office, he refrained from hearing Mass in the Island of Teneriffe, and from genuflecting before the Blessed Sacrament, and if what the witnesses say is the truth. . . .

Replied; that it is true that this confessant refrained from hearing Mass in the Dominican monastery in the Island of Teneriffe, and on one occasion did not genuflect to the Blessed Sacrament, but he had never been taught to do so, and did not know whether it was right or not, because he was not converted to our Holy Catholic Faith.

Questioned why he has not spoken the truth before.

Replied; that the devil deceived him, in order to prevent him speaking it until now.

Questioned; whether the devil has also misled him into persevering in the new religion, which he has believed up to the present, which may be inferred from his not speaking the truth until now.

Replied, that he has spoken the truth, and that when he was arrested by this Holy Office, he abandoned belief in the said Religion of England, and returned to the Holy Catholic Faith.

He is notified that it is not credible that he was entirely converted to our holy Catholic Faith, since he denied the truth of the charges brought against him by the witnesses, and has not confessed until now.

Says that he asks God's pardon for this, and could give no other explication whatever, and thus it appearing to the Inquisitor and Ordinary that the said John Ware had given satisfaction, they suspended the torture, and so he was untied and found to all appearance sound in all his limbs, and thus this matter ended after

ten in the morning, whereupon the said John Ware was told that he might return to the monastery. . . . (f. 233b)

Votes. In Canary 21st day of the month of March 1586, the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno holding his afternoon audience, examining causes together with Licentiate Diego del Aguila . . . they considered the process held in this Holy Office against John Ware, of English nationality, resident of this city, and were of opinion and voted unanimously that he should be reconciled as a penitent in a public *auto-de-fé*, with confiscation of property, habit, and three years' imprisonment, to be accomplished by rowing in his Majesty's galleys, without pay.[1] . . . (f. 235b)

This process being definitely concluded respecting this flight from the prison in the Island of La Palma, he again escaped from this island, which was assigned to him as prison, and a new suit and process was opened respecting his flight and impenitence. (f. 242)

1st Witness. Brahem, Turk.[2]

In Canary 11th day of the month of May 1586; the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno commanded that a certain man be brought in. . . .

Questioned; whether he knows or suspects the reason why he has been summoned to the Holy Office.

Said; that he knows it is to obtain a confession from him respecting the Englishmen, who were in the prison of the Island of La Palma.

He is told to relate what he knows concerning the said Englishmen.

Said; that this confessant was working in the town in the Island of La Palma and the Englishmen, Edward and John, and a Moor named Peter were also working there, with whom this confessant

[1] The sentence concludes with the usual disabilities. The Inquisitors state that it would have been lighter on account of the prisoner's youth and for other reasons, but for his deceptive conduct during the trial, and his fictitious conversion. The case of Edward Stride, of the same ship, offers no novelty, the charges against him being much the same as against John Ware. Sentence of reconciliation was also passed on him. During the trial he was sentenced to be put to torture, and an order was given to "haul at the pulley," at the end of which he was declared to be sound in all his limbs.

[2] This witness was sentenced to receive fifty strokes for assisting Englishmen to escape. He stated that they were detained in Gomera from a shortage of water, and were there re-arrested. (*Millares' Book*, v, p. 104.)

held intercourse. And they were sent there by this Holy Office, wearing certain habits which have two crosses one in front and one at the back, and from that place they were to be sent to the galleys, to which they were condemned by this Holy Office. And this confessant conversing with them, gave them to understand, that he desired to return to his own country, and recover his liberty; and the said John, Edward, and Peter also declared that they desired to recover their liberty, and this confessant told them that French ships frequented that vicinity which could take them off, and over there they would be given their liberty, because they did not make captives. And that for this purpose they could take a boat from among those along the shore, and proceed under the lee of the land (a las calmas) in search of the French; to which they replied that they would do so.[1] (f. 243)

Vol. XII. 1st series.

The Fiscal against Edward Stephens, native of London, in England.

Information.
Monitions.
Accusation.
Proof.
Ratification of witnesses.
Communication.
Conclusion.

The sentence of relaxation, the execution thereof, and other papers relating to this criminal will be found in the following process against Richard Newman.

1st Witness. Juan de Fraga.

In Canary 10th day of the month of March, 1587. The Inquisitor Francisco Madaleno holding his afternoon audience, the oath in due form was administered to John de Fraga, magistrate

[1] The prisoners were on this occasion recaptured, and took part in the *auto-de-fé* on July 22, 1587. This was the ninth public auto celebrated in the Canaries, and apparently the first in which Englishmen appeared. The Englishmen penanced and reconciled in this auto were John Smith (in statue only, as he had died in hospital), John Ware, Peter Johnson, Edward Stride, John Gold, William Baker, Mark Colman, Richard Sanchez, Christopher Tristram, Michael James and William Roger, all of the "Primrose," John Raymond (Reinan) of the "Falcon," and Edward Francis. In this same auto George Gaspar of London was burnt in person for attacking the Catholic faith when in the public prison, and refusing to abjure. This was the only Englishman burnt in the Canaries. (*Millares' Book*, v, Chap. III.)

and resident of the Island of La Palma, by which he was pledged to speak the truth. And he was told to relate in detail what he knows respecting a galleon and its tender, English ships, which put into the Island of La Palma, of which he gave notice this morning to the said Inquisitor.

Said; that about twenty days since there anchored in the port of the Island of La Palma a vessel which they say carried three hundred pipes, and a tender which they say carried fifty or sixty, and the casks from their shape were apparently English. That between fifty or sixty persons were on board the two vessels, amongst whom there were six or seven Englishmen, though witness saw but four, two of whom from their appearance and manner were men of note, and in the said island it was publicly said that the aforesaid two men must have shares in the vessels, and that the other Englishmen and Portuguese served them almost on bended knee as though they were persons of rank.

And that they carried a safe conduct from the Queen of England and her admiral so that no Englishman should do them harm; and it was said that they were bound to Guinea and Brazil[1] to fetch cargoes of sugar, and return with half the cargo to England, for so it was stated in the bill of lading from the master to the captain. And witness heard the Lieutenant of the said island, who held the inquiry, say that the safe conduct was in the English tongue, and this witness heard from one Jorge Alvarez resident of La Palma, who had come in one of the said vessels from Madeira to the Island of La Palma, that they had made a stay of some fifteen days at Madeira, and had held intercourse with the residents of the said island, and they had cleared from there.

Questioned: whether witness heard any person in the Island of La Palma say that the Englishmen in the said ship were bad Christians or heretics.

Said: that he merely heard that a youth belonging to the English had been baptized in Vianna in Portugal, and as they are English, witness holds them to be very suspect in the faith, for it is notorious that they are so, and declared to be schismatics; and it appears to him that to desire to supply provisions to the heretics[2] and bad Christians who came in the said vessels, one must be as bad as themselves.

Item, said: that the civil justice of the Island of La Palma began to hold an inquiry and to proceed against the said English and Por-

[1] *See* Appendix Note A. [2] *See* Appendix Note B.

tuguese, and seized the sails of the ships, and ordered certain coffers, cases, packages, and ropes to be brought ashore, and deposited he did not know with whom. And in order to take proceedings against them, the matter was communicated to the corporation, and all present were of opinion that as they appeared very suspicious, they should proceed with secrecy to arrest them, and sequester their property. That the suspicion was caused by the fact that they were heavily armed, the large ship carrying sixteen or seventeen pieces and the small four or five; and it was said they carried thirty hundredweights of powder, and many balls with spikes and fireworks[1] (artificios) and other apparatus of war; and also because of the Portuguese and English confederates on board, and because they carried a safe conduct from the said Queen and Admiral in the English tongue, and because it was understood that they were to take half the cargo to England; . . . (f. 333)

In Canary the said 12th day of March . . . before the Inquisitor . . . there appeared, having been summoned a man . . . who said:

That his name is Juan Gonçalez Media, formerly alguacil of the Island of La Palma. . . .

He was told to relate in detail what he had gathered, or heard, with respect to the place whence the said ships set sail and their destination. . . .

Said: that it was very publicly stated in the said island that the captains of a large ship and a tender were Portuguese, and came from Vianna in Portugal; that they had put in to the Island of Madeira to load with wines and not finding any in that place, they proceeded to the Island of La Palma, where they bought some, giving in exchange London and Flemish cloth. That he then heard that they were accompanied by some Englishmen, for which reason the civil justices took proceedings against them upon the chief alguacil's denunciation; and witness saw that the captains, Englishmen, and the other men on board the ship and tender were arrested, and the sails seized; and that certain packages, cases and boxes were brought ashore. That witness entered the said ship, and saw twenty-two boxes, and thirty-three cases of merchandise

[1] Ordnance of various kinds and "wildfire" were an English specialty at this time; so much so that the Duke of Parma a few years later was reported to have employed an Englishman to make "wildfires." (*Cal. Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, 1594, p. 426.) For further information, *see* J. S. Corbett, Spanish War, 1585–7 (Navy Records Soc. pub.), p. 335, etc.

which had been discovered in her, and two large packages, and four culverins, and it was said that the rest of their cargo was wine. That the large vessel carried eighteen cast-iron pieces and the smaller two large pieces, and four culverins, and a large quantity of powder and firearms in the magazine; and witness saw that the said Portuguese captains carried a patent from the Admiral of England, written in the English tongue, with a very large seal, upon which was drawn a large ship, and which said that this was the Queen's seal by which she commanded that no Englishman should injure or harm them. And witness heard from Benito Corres de Estripiñan, resident of the Island of La Palma, that the said Portuguese carried a bill of lading issued in England, by which they undertook to take the said ship to Angola and there sell the wine and merchandise, and then proceed to Brazil to load such merchandise as is there available, and take the cargo to England. And that the said Portuguese confessed in La Palma that they came from England, and that the Queen had given them the small vessel as compensation for a large ship which the captain said had been stolen from him by Englishmen, as she was returning with cargo from Brazil, but that he had bought the large ship in England with his own money. And that the civil authorities took proceedings against the said Portuguese and Englishmen because of the outcry against them, it appearing ill that war being declared with his Majesty, the Portuguese should come from England in company with Englishmen, by which they appear to be traitors. For the people of that land are held to be heretics it being twenty years and more since they say Mass there or baptize; and it is a matter of public report and knowledge that they are heretics, and are all schismatics, and war has been declared against them. And in the said island it was said that the Portuguese deserved to be hung for carrying provisions from Christian lands to heretics and infidels; . . . (f. 334b)

In Canary 12th day of March . . . there appeared a certain man . . . and said:

That he is the Licentiate Luis de Parrado formerly his Majesty's judge. . . .

Questioned as to what he has heard in the said Island of La Palma, respecting the English and Portuguese confederates, who came there.

Said: that he can say nothing with certainty for the populace

says many things as the fancy takes them, and that it was reported in the said place that the merchandise would belong to one of the said Englishmen who were on board, and witness understands that no suspicion would have attached to them had they not been accompanied by the said Englishmen, nor would the matter have aroused any comment; because it is reported that his Majesty has commanded an embargo[1] to be put upon all English merchandise, and that war against Spain has been declared in England; and witness has also heard that the English are considered to be schismatics; . . .

Questioned: what witness has gathered, or presumed, of the said Portuguese captains with respect to their having contracted to carry provisions and merchandise, and persons suspected of heresy and declared schismatics.

Said: that if this were true he would consider it bad, and suspect them of being fautors of heretics and enemies of his Majesty and of Christianity, but in denial of this he has heard that on account of the present dangers of navigation caused by the many English pirates, they carried the said papers to safeguard themselves against them, but that they had another bill of lading, drawn up in Vianna, which was the one that they had really to hold by; but that this witness knows nothing beyond what he has said; . . . (f. 336b)

In La Palma 3rd May . . . friar Pedro de San Luys, guardian, in presence of me the said Juan Cabrejas, notary, summoned Friar Geronimo de Paz, of the order of St Dominic, preacher. . . .

Questioned: whether he knows Captain Francisco da Rocha Paris, and whether he has information and knowledge of the men whom the aforesaid carries in his ship and tender, now in this port,

[1] This evidence is given on March 12, 1587, and the arrests must have been made somewhere about February 18 or 20. War had been declared between Spain and England in July, 1585, and in May, 1586, English goods had been prohibited there. (*Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 180, No. 25 and vol. 189, No. 24.) For some time Elizabeth refused to acknowledge the existence of the war, but in a proclamation of March 12, 1585–6, while still maintaining that England was at peace with Spain, she sanctioned reprisals; and as her sailors seemed disposed to extend these reprisals to all ships which they chose to believe were loaded with Spanish goods, she expressly declared that they were to go to Spain and the islands and there seize on Spanish ships *only*. (*See* Proclamation in British Museum.) Hence the authorities in the Canary Islands had no need to seek for excuses for arresting Englishmen, at all events. The political situation made it their obvious course, and that they should think any justification required speaks volumes for the laxity of the connexion between Spain and even the nearest of her dependencies.

and especially of the Englishmen whom the aforesaid has on board the said ship and tender.

Said: that he knows the said Francisco da Rocha Paris, because one day after his arrival in this island, he came to confession to this witness, and having heard the report that the aforesaid had Englishmen on board his said ship and tender, witness questioned him about them, and he replied that he would bring them to confession, and so he made them come. . . .

Said: That upon a feast day the said Francisco da Rocha brought all the Englishmen who were on board the said ship and tender to the Dominican monastery of this city, where witness was, and there, in presence of some of the friars, understanding that they came from England, where the Lutheran creed is publicly professed, witness made them a long discourse upon our religion; . . . and they said that they agreed with all this witness had said, and desired to confess themselves to him, and they proceeded to witness' cell, where they entered one at a time with an interpreter, a certain Richard who came with them, and who speaks Spanish better than the rest. . . and afterwards seeing that two or three were better instructed than the rest in our faith, witness heard them in confession sacramentally, and made them go to communion. . . .

(f. 340b)

In Canary 11th day of the month of February 1588 . . . Friar Gerónimo de Paz appeared having been summoned. . . .

Being notified that the fiscal of the Holy Office had named him as witness against those persons, who, by his declaration, appeared to be guilty, he said that he had nothing further to add or correct, but that those whom he heard in confession, and to whom he gave communion were two Englishmen, one named Richard, who is in this city, who told witness that Pablo Arnao gave him his food, witness having inquired how he procured it; and the other named Edward, who is in the Dominican monastery as cook. And as to the others he did not hear their confessions sacramentally, nor give them communion, because they were not catechized, but were like the niggers of Guinea.

Asked for the names of those whom witness found more proficient in our religion, and who told witness they had been brought up in the Lutheran creed, but upon attaining years of discretion had seen and understood that it was a novelty, and who desired henceforward to live and die in the faith professed by their fathers and predecessors.

Said: that it appears to him that there were two who were with the said Francisco da Rocha, and he believes that one was named Richard, but he cannot remember the name of the other; . . .

(f. 342b)

Votes. In Canary 13th day of the month of March 1587, the Inquisitor, Licentiate Francisco Madaleno, holding his afternoon audience together with Licentiate Diego del Aguila . . . they examined the evidence received against Francisco da Rocha Paris, Portuguese, and his companions . . . and were of unanimous opinion that proceedings be taken against them and an inquiry made; . . .

(f. 343b)

The confessions of this criminal having been examined, a doubt arose whether cognizance of his crimes and apostasy could be taken in this place, as having been committed in England; and the members of the Council were consulted upon the point, as appears from a memorandum of a letter in the letter-book written on the 17th April 1587. And the Council having consulted the very reverend the Inquisitor General[1] replied that the course of justice should be followed, as appears by a letter of the 20th August 1587 which is contained in the process of Richard Newman. (f. 344)

In the month of March there put in to this Island of La Palma two ships, which had left England with merchandise, in which there were seven Englishmen, the captains, masters, and the rest of the men being all Portuguese. And as the ships were heavily armed, and very well equipped for war, the civil authorities suspected them of being pirates, and smugglers, and in proceeding against them discovered that they carried a bill of lading to take cargoes of sugar and wood in Brazil and return with them to England. And in the said ship, there was further found a writing in the English tongue, dated in London the 20th May 1586, which ended with the words: " in the 28th year of the rule of our Lady Queen Elizabeth, by grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith."[2] The which writing is a safe-conduct given by the Admiral of England, so that the English pirates who roam the seas should not harm any of the said vessels, nor the men,

[1] At this date the Inquisitor General was Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo, who held office from 1573 to 1594.

[2] One of these Englishmen, being asked his opinion as to the Queen's right to the title of Defender of the Faith, replied that it was a title always held by the Sovereigns of England, and that the Queen retained it because nobody cares to lose a good thing (" *las cosas buenas no las quieren perder* ").

nor the merchandise which they carry, but should rather favour and assist them, inasmuch as they were to return to England with the said ships, sugars and wood. Upon this suspicion, and the general suspicion with which all Englishmen are regarded, two of the said men were summoned before this tribunal, and upon being examined according to the ordinary questions of the instructions; whether they went to confession and communion, and heard mass, whenever holy Mother Church ordained, it was discovered that they were heretics, and had held the errors of the new religion of England. One of them confessed to having lived in it for some years, and left England in order to abandon it, but had pertinaciously believed in it, although he had previously sufficient knowledge of the Christian Religion, and evangelical creed. And the other confessed that he had always lived as a Catholic, but had held errors upon Communion, which he received three times from the hands of the priests. For he said that they give communion under the species of bread and wine, in remembrance of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and hold that it is not truly His Body, which was the opinion of Calvin; but that he did not believe that it was merely a remembrance but rather the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, although he knew that the priests who administered it were mere laymen and married, having no power or authority whatsoever; because he had seen many merchants and officials, who merely knowing how to read had been appointed ministers of the churches within a week, and even the majority of the bishops, who appointed them, were married men. And that he had held these errors for some years, until whilst he was in Rome, a Theatine of his own nationality counselled and disillusioned him; and that he repented of the said errors and craved pardon and absolution. The letter received from your Eminence, dated the 22nd June 1575 giving order as to the manner of proceeding against Englishmen, has occasioned some doubt among us with respect to these cases. The evidence against these men not being very serious, and the principal faults having been committed in England, should they be reconciled in this place; and should this be in a public auto, and should their goods be confiscated, for one of them has goods in this island, where he has held commerce and intercourse. We beseech your Eminence to advise us how to act, and to inform us whether there be any new order in Council, or any intended, with respect to proceedings against the said Englishmen; . . . Canary 17th April 1587. Licentiate Francisco Madaleno. (f. 345)

Copy of a letter from the King our Lord's Council of the General Inquisition,[1] to this Inquisition of the Canaries; in answer to the above letter.

We have received a letter dated the 17th of last April, and seeing what is therein contained respecting the two English pirates whom you hold prisoners, his Eminence the Cardinal Inquisitor General was consulted thereupon, and it appears that in these said cases your worships should proceed and act in accordance with justice.

God keep you. Madrid, 20th August 1587. Licentiate Antonio Matos de Noroña; . . .

Canary, 15th day of the month of April 1587 the Inquisitor Francisco Madaleno . . . commanded that a certain man be brought in. . . .

Said: that his name is Edward Stephens, native of the city of London, in England, that he is twenty years of age, close on twenty-one; and that his calling is to sail the seas in the service of Francisco da Rocha, Portuguese, whom he has served three years; . . . (f. 346)

Asked for an account of his life.

Said: that he was born in London, and was brought up in his parents' house, his father being a smith, until the age of seventeen, when he agreed to serve his master, the said Francisco Rocha, for five years and set sail with him and other Portuguese, in a vessel which his master bought, his own having been stolen from him by Englishmen. They proceeded to Vianna in Portugal, whence they went to Brazil with the merchandise they had brought from London, and remained there six months, where the said Portuguese vessel was loaded with sugar and wood for England. And on the voyage close to the Terceira Islands three English vessels, in service of the Admiral of England, bore down on them and robbed them, and this confessant they took to England, and his said master they put on shore at the Terceiras. And this confessant arrived in England in the month of November of 85, and there remained in his parents' house until his said master Francisco da Rocha returned to England—when he re-entered his service. He had then two vessels, one bought with bills he had brought with him from Por-

[1] The Concejo de la Suprema y General Inquisicion, more often called the Suprema, was first established in 1483 with Torquemada as president. It gradually became more and more absolute, until all the tribunals were entirely subordinate to it.

tugal, the other being a pinnace given him in compensation for the ship stolen from him by Englishmen. And having loaded with linen, fish, stuffs and tar, he proceeded to Vianna; and there embarked with him many Portuguese, three Spaniards, who were in that country, having been robbed, and eighteen foreigners, fifteen of the latter being Englishmen, one a Fleming, one a Scotchman, and one a Frenchman. All of whom reached Vianna and there the said Francisco da Rocha took leave of some of the aforesaid foreigners, as he could not obtain licence from his Eminence the Cardinal to carry so many in his vessel. . . . And before this in Vianna an embargo[1] had been laid upon the ship and tender of the said Francisco da Rocha because he carried foreigners and merchandise from England; and the said Francisco da Rocha went to Lisbon and there the Cardinal Prince[2] commanded the embargo to be raised, and upon this they left Vianna and proceeded to the Island of Madeira, and thence to La Palma; where the civil authorities laid an embargo on them, saying that they were thieves. From that place they had intended to go to Angola to take in negroes for Brazil[3]; and having taken cargoes of sugar and wood in Brazil to proceed with them to Lisbon, and thence, after registering the merchandise, to bring it to England, provided there was peace, for this is what this confessant heard from his said master.

Questioned as to how he knows that the cargo of which they were robbed by Englishmen, close to the Terceiras, was destined for England.

Replied: that those who dispatched it in the said ship said it was for that country, that is to say an Englishman who was in Brazil and had much property there, the master of this confessant, and all the rest, who all said they were going to England; . . .

(f. 349b)

Votes. In Canary 4th day of the month of November 1588, the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno holding his afternoon audience, together with Don Hernando Suarez de Figueroa, bishop of these islands, etc. . . . they considered the process held in this Holy Office against Edward Stephens, of English nationality, detained by this Holy Office, and were of unanimous opinion that

[1] *See* note p. 17.

[2] Cardinal Albert, Archduke of Austria, brother of Rudolph II, appointed Governor of Portugal by Philip II.

[3] *See* Appendix A.

he be reconciled, wearing a san-benito[1] in a public *auto-de-fé* if there should be one, and if not in the cathedral church of this town on a Sunday or festival, in which he shall publicly abjure his errors; and that his property be confiscated. And upon the conclusion of the auto that the san-benito be removed, and that he be placed in the Dominican monastery of the said city to be instructed in matters of faith; . . . (f. 361)

In Canary 19th day of the month of May 1589, before the Inquisitor . . . there appeared, being summoned,

Licentiate Alfaro, advocate of the Real Audiencia of these islands, from whom the oath was received in due form, by which he was pledged to speak the truth, and being questioned as to the flight of the said Englishmen:

Said: that this witness was acquainted in this city with Richard Newman, Edward Stevens, John Ware and Edward Stride, Englishmen, whom he assisted as advocate, by order of this Holy Office, and knows that their cases were pending as may be seen by the proceedings, and knows, it being notorious in this city, that the said four Englishmen have escaped in company with two Moors, it being publicly stated that they took a boat which was anchored in the creek of Santa Catalina, and thence it is supposed they went to Barbary or joined some English ship if they found one. And in particular this witness knows that the said Edward Stride on the night they left, that is about eight or ten days since, was missing from witness's house, where he was staying, and where he was until nearly eleven o'clock; and having asked for him in the morning he was told that he was not there, and witness learnt later that the boat he spoke of was missing, and advised his worship, the Inquisitor, that the said Edward was missing, and had left the san-benito he was wearing at witness's house; so that the necessary measures might be taken. And later witness came in person to the Holy Office to give the same information, and he knows with respect to this flight that the civil authorities of this island sent two boats with men to seek the said Englishmen and Moors and the boat, and at the end of two or three days they returned and said they had not found them[2]; . . . (f. 363)

[1] San-benito, a corruption of saco bendito (blessed sack), so called because it was customary in early times to bless the sack in which penitents were to be vested. The san-benitos varied according to the degree of guilt and of punishment. There were in all six kinds. (*Llorente*, vol. II, p. 201.)

[2] Further evidence was given on the same subject, and edicts were promul-

The fiscal against Edward Stride: this process respecting the flight of the aforesaid from the prison of the Island of La Palma being definitely concluded, he again escaped and absented himself from this island, assigned to him for a prison, and a new process was opened respecting his flight and impenitence—he was afterwards recaptured and finally in this third process it was ordered by the Council that he should be absolved *ad cautelam* . . . after which he fled. . .

The sentence by which he was relaxed in effigy is contained in the process of Richard Newman. . . . (f. 376)

The fiscal of this Holy Office against Richard Newman, native of London, England. (f.490)

In Canary, 11th day of the month of April 1587, Inquisitor Francisco Madaleno . . . commanded that a certain man be brought in. . . .

Said: that he is named Richard Newman, native of the province of Worcester (Vstar) in England, that he is about thirty-seven years of age, and he declared his genealogy in the following manner. . . .

Questioned as to what race and lineage are those he has named,

Said: that they are all very good Catholic Christians, and not one has been imprisoned, condemned, or penanced by the Inquisition.

Questioned: says that this confessant is a baptized Christian and was confirmed during the time of King Philip . . . and goes to confession and communion when he is in this island, as also in that of Teneriffe and La Palma, where he has had commerce for four years, and also goes to confession and communion in Italy and France with which countries he has held commerce twelve years, and has also been to confession in Rome to the Jesuits. . . .

Questioned as to how long this confessant was resident in England before he commenced his travels

Said: that he was eight years in London as servant of a merchant named William Young (Vyongo).

Questioned as to the religion professed by the merchant whom he served in England.

gated summoning them to return within thirty days. John Ware and Edward Stride escaped twice and were recaptured, but at this their third attempt they succeeded in getting off the islands. Examined as to his motive in escaping, whether it was to return to England to follow the new religion, Stride declared that his intention was to escape the galleys and go to France or Lisbon to live as a Christian.

Said: that he was a Catholic, and brother to one of the bishops[1] of King Philip's time, and that some of his relatives have since suffered death for the faith of Christ. . . .

. . . Questioned as to who elects, appoints and ordains the said priests. . . .

Said: the bishop of each bishopric, elects and appoints the said priests of his see, there being twenty-four bishops in England, some of whom are married, although at present the Queen has given order that they shall not marry. . . .

Asked to give an account of his life

Said: that he was born, as he previously stated, in Worcester, where until the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was brought up in his parents' house, when he went to London to serve his master, in which place he remained eight years. Thence he sailed as supercargo in a ship bound to Lisbon with wheat and flax, where they took in a cargo of sugars and other things and returned therewith to England; and from England they went to Antwerp, where they loaded with cases (?) and linen stuffs for the city of Oporto in Portugal, where they took in a cargo of sugars,[2] cotton, and Brazil wood, which they carried to Antwerp. From Antwerp they proceeded to London, with apes[3] (?) for beer, and from London they went to Leghorn in Italy with flax, stuffs, copper and lead; and from Leghorn to Civita Vecchia, where they took in a cargo of stone alum for cloth, and brought it to London. There they again took a cargo of wheat for Leghorn, whence they returned to Civita Vecchia

[1] Probably John Young, who on Queen Mary's accession was appointed Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on Ridley's deprivation. He was also Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge from 1553–55, when he was made regius professor of divinity; he was not, however, a bishop. After Elizabeth's accession he was committed to prison in 1559 in the Counter, Wood Street, for refusing the oath. He was transferred to the Marshalsea before 1574, and temporarily released in the same year on the surety of Gregory Young (the MSS. has Guillermo Vyongo), grocer, of London, who it is presumed was his brother. (*Dic. Nat. Biog.*)

[2] Corn and sugar were among the staple commodities in the trade between England and Portugal at this period (*v.* Chapman and Shillington, *Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*, p. 135, 147, etc.). Trade through Antwerp, though less in proportion to the whole trade than it had been at the beginning of the century, still bulked large. (*Ibid.*, p. 141; v. also J. Wheeler's *Treatise of Commerce.*) Newman's voyage was typical of many which were made at that time.

[3] Presumably hops. These are included in lists of exports from Flanders (e.g., in "Certeyn thinges to be consydered of for the speciall welth of the Realme of England." *Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 185, No. 102).

to fetch stone alum, which they took to Antwerp, whence they proceeded to Germany with sheep, rabbit skins, and stuffs, and there they loaded with cordage for ships, and with flax and wax with which they returned to London, and thence they sailed for Lisbon with stuffs and the said wax and other things. Whence they went to Oporto, and having loaded with sugar proceeded to Antwerp, whence they returned to London with another cargo of apes; and from London they took a cargo of stuffs, kerseys[1] and other things to Bayona in Galicia, whence they proceeded empty to Cadiz, where they took in a cargo of wine, and proceeded therewith to London. And from London they went to a town in the north of England, and there took a cargo of wheat for Sanlucar, from which place they took oil and wine to London, whence loaded with wheat they went to Gibraltar, whence they proceeded to Great Malaga to fetch a cargo of shumack and other things for London. And in that place they took in a cargo of wheat for this island of Canary, which was in the year 84, and they put in to the island on the 4th April, and he had a share in the said vessel and was the supercargo thereof. And in this place they took a cargo of wines and sugars for London, whence they took wheat to Mosul in Andalusia (?); and thence proceeded to Almeria to load with rushes for Cadiz, and thence took a cargo of salt to this Island of Canary there to consign the ship to Adam Gonçales, as they had agreed to do, but he would not receive it, saying that they came late, and thus they proceeded to Teneriffe, where they took in a cargo to be delivered to Doña Gregoria at Lisbon, in which place the ship was twice embargoed[2] to serve his Majesty. Later the Marquis de Sta Cruz raised the embargo and gave them licence to load with merchandise in any port of Portugal, and thus they

[1] "Stuffs and kersies" were among the goods most commonly sent from England to Spain. Wheat also is mentioned in the list of "Commodities of ports where merchants trade as coming from the northerly parts of England." (*Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 201, No. 14.) Oil, wine and fruit were the ordinary returns. The trade with Andalusia appears to have been the most common, and San Lucar was a favourite centre. In the reign of Henry VIII English merchants trading to Spain and Andalusia had received special privileges from Charles V (Harl. MSS. xxxvi, 6), and it was from the association of these merchants that the later "Company of Merchants trading to Spain and Portugal" was developed.

[2] This passage is not very clear; but there was an embargo on all ships on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts in September, 1583 (*Cal. Ven. St. P.*, p. 69, No. 167), and an embargo on French and English ships in June, 1585, which may be the two occasions alluded to.

took in a cargo of figs, oil, and wines for England, and there they were lost in a bay during a storm, which would be about the end of January of last year, 86. And this confessant then came to London where he met Francisco de Rosa Paris, who with his cousin was on board the vessel when it was lost, and who then went inland to recover a vessel and goods of which he had been robbed by Englishmen; and who told confessant in London that he had already procured a vessel and pinnace, and if he wished to accompany him to Brazil he might earn as much as he had lost, and this confessant, seeing the troubles in England, and that he could not live there without stealing or doing things against his conscience, determined to go with him to earn a livelihood amongst Christians, and thus having agreed to sail as gunner for six ducats[1] a month, they set out from London on the 1st of June and reached Vianna[2] in Portugal, during the month of July; . . . (f. 424)

Said: that he remained in Vianna from the 12th July until the 16th of January when they proceeded to Cascaes in Lisbon, and there they loaded with biscuit and *margaridetas* or beads, saucepans, and other things to trade for negroes in Guinea; and thence they proceeded to the Island of Madeira, where they remained some fifteen or sixteen days paying the duties as they could not clear in Vianna without coming to Madeira. And there they took in a small quantity of wine, but it being dear they proceeded to the Island of La Palma to ship the remainder, where they were arrested by the lieutenant of the island upon the ground that they were thieves and pirates; who having taken their statements discharged them; and all being in readiness to start the beneficiary, Alonso de Torres put another embargo on them in the name of this Holy Office, and sent them to this island; . . .

[1] Six ducats a month is so extraordinarily high a wage that some mistake in the report of the case seems probable. About this period gunners on English ships were receiving 10s. a month. (J. S. Corbett, *State Papers relating to the Spanish War*, 1585–7, Navy Records Soc. ed., vol. XI, pp. 258–62, 286, 336, etc.) It is true that gunners' wages were apparently rising; and the high reputation of English gunners may have induced a foreign captain like Francisco da Rocha Paris to offer high wages; but even so the disproportion is enormous.

[2] Vianna was one of the towns in Portugal which had formerly been attached to the cause of Don Antonio, the claimant to the Portuguese throne. It seems possible from the grant of an English safe conduct that Francisco da Rocha Paris may have been one of Don Antonio's adherents, in which case he might hope to find greater trade facilities in Vianna than in Lisbon or Oporto, which were of far more commercial importance.

Questioned: whether confessant carried any merchandise in the said ship, with which to trade in Brazil. . . .

Said: that he had nothing, because the hose which he bought in Vianna were disposed of while he was in that place, and he had nothing but his pay, and has no property whatever as he lost all in the ship which ran on the coast. . . . (f. 429)

And then upon the demand of the fiscal the said Richard Newman was charged with carrying the safe-conduct of the Admiral of England, which has a seal of red wax with the arms of England, and is of parchment. Which being shown to him, he replied, that the said seal and arms are those of England, and the said safe-conduct is in the English language, and, as he had already confessed, he did not see it until they reached Vianna; . . . (f. 443)

Votes. In Canary 4th day of the month of November 1588, the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno, holding his afternoon audience, together with Don Hernando Suarez de Figueroa, Bishop of these isles . . . they considered the process held in this Holy Office against Richard Newman, of English nationality, detained by this Holy Office, and were unanimously of one vote and opinion that he be reconciled in a public *auto-de-fé*, if there be one, or in the cathedral church of this city on a day of festival or a Sunday, in which he shall publicly abjure his errors; and that his property be confiscated. And that upon conclusion of the auto the san-benito be removed, and for the space of three months he shall go to a person appointed, to be instructed in matters of faith; . . . (f. 448)

. . . We the Inquisitors against heresy, depravity, and apostasy in these Islands and bishopric of Grand Canary . . . having seen certain processes and criminal suits which have pended before us and are pending, between the parties Licentiate Joseph de Armas, *promotor fiscal* of this Holy Office, on the one side, and on the other the accused:

Richard Newman, English gunner, native of the province of Worcester,

Edward Stevens, native of the city of London.

John Ware, native of Southampton, and Edward Stride, native of the said city in the Kingdom of England, whose effigies are present.

Of whom the said Richard Newman was charged before us by the fiscal with being a heretic and apostate from our Holy Catholic Faith, and with having fallen into other divers faults as proved by the case he presented before us, asking that we should command him to be arrested and brought to the cells of this Holy Office; which having considered we agreed that the said offender should be summoned, and this city assigned to him as prison, under penalty of two hundred strokes, if he should break from it.

And in the first audience given him, he confessed that he was baptized a Christian, during the time King Philip, our lord, was King of England; and that he had heard Mass, and been to confession and communion in the different parts of Christendom to which he had been, and in some of these isles, having done the same in England at the house of the Spanish Ambassador, where Mass was said, and secretly attended by some of the natives. And that a Jesuit had come from Rome, and had secretly said Mass in some house, and had heard the said Richard's confession, and given him communion, as well as to other persons; and that Mass is not said publicly. And that he had lived eight years in the city of London with a certain Catholic merchant who had a brother a bishop, imprisoned by the Queen, because he would not adopt her religion. That in company of his said master he had frequently been to the churches to hear what is there called the services, or service of God, which was performed by a clergyman wearing a surplice over his long black robe, who read the psalms of David and other things of the Mosaic creed and old testament, and then from the new testament and lastly the epistles of Saint Paul, and an epistle and gospel as is done here during Mass, all of which was said in the English tongue. And that these services were held morning and afternoon, and all were compelled to attend once a month on a Sunday, and he who did not comply was fined for the first time a certain sum of money, and the second time was thrown into prison. And that Protestants, that is to say Lutherans, go to church to receive communion between Palm Sunday and Easter, and some days later; . . .

And in the form and manner aforesaid the said Richard received communion, as he thinks, three times during the time he was in England, about the age of fourteen; and for the said communions he did not go to confession, as there is no such thing as confession there, nor was any preparation made beyond that the previous day all went to church and said prayers, the Our Father, Credo, com-

mandments, and other prayers, after which the priest gave each one a certificate, which they took to the church next day and received communion.

And that by order of the Queen the priests and bishops have removed all pictures and images from the churches, and that the majority of them are married, and he understood that they followed the religion of Luther; . . .

Item, said and declared that in having received the said communion from the hand of the priests, and in having attended the churches to hear the services and other prayers, he had thought and believed he would obtain pardon of all his sins and save his soul, and that God would give him glory for it, and that he held this belief for the last three years that he was in London, knowing that the said new religion followed by the said priests, was not good, but contrary to the old; . . .

And that the said priests and ministers of the new religion did not say Mass to consecrate and communicate, and did not wear vestments like the priests here, but a surplice only; and that they had no power to celebrate nor to consecrate bread and wine and change them into the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as some of them were married, and also the bishops who appointed them, and all lived in the new religion and sect of Luther, and were like other laymen, and many of them merchants.

And to be chosen for priests nothing more was necessary than to know how to read and to appear before a bishop, and the payment of a few angels, upon which they were given power to be priests. And that the said Richard had seen some merchants and officials who became priests within a week, and knowing this, and that the said priests had no power whatever to consecrate the bread and wine, not holding the religion of which the Holy Father is the head, the said Richard believed and held, that the mercy of God being great, that in receiving communion with a Catholic heart from the hand of the said priests, no other course being open to them because otherwise they were thrown into prison, he would thereby serve God, and thus the said priests giving communion solely in remembrance of the Body and Blood of Christ, the said Richard received it in conscience as true Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and for such he adored it, and believed it to be. And he had been in this error until when in Rome, he went to confession to an English Jesuit, who afterwards returned to England

and died for the faith of Christ,[1] who told him he had acted wrongly, and gave him certain penances, and he was then undeceived and knew that what he had done in England was not right, and that he had been in error, for which he asked of God pardon, and of this Holy Office penance with mercy, and protested to live and die in the Holy Catholic Faith. . . . (f. 464)

Edward Stevens.

And the said fiscal charged the said Edward Stevens before us, with having been a heretic and apostate as appeared from the information he laid before us; . . . and in the first audience given him on the 15th day of the month of April of the year 1587 he said he was twenty years of age and a baptized Christian; . . . and that in some parts of Christendom where he had been he had heard Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation and some week days, but not in England, with the exception of two or three occasions, in the house of the French ambassador, for in that kingdom Mass is only said in the houses of the ambassadors, and if an Englishman attends for the first time he has to pay a fine of money, the second time the fine is doubled, and the third time the penalty is death; . . .

. . . And in another audience he said that he had left England and come to these parts in order to live in a Christian manner, because his parents and ancestors had lived in the observance of the old religion which in these parts is taught and preached, and after seeing the Mass and other things pertaining to our holy religion, he became inclined to return to it, and to abandon that which he had learnt in England; . . . (f. 467)

John Ware. Edward Stride.

And the said John Ware and Edward Stride were brought prisoners to this Holy Office upon information against them that having been condemned to a certain number of years in the galleys by this Holy Office, and having been sent to the prison of the Island of La Palma, from thence to be taken to the galleys of Spain, they had escaped from the said prison; . . .

. . . And thereupon the fiscal appeared before us and set forth his

[1] At this date three Jesuits had suffered death in England. Campion and Briant in 1581, and Cottam in 1582. Of these, Campion only had been in Rome as a professed Jesuit. On this question of attending the Protestant services neither Campion nor Parsons would have been likely to sanction any compromise. (Thomas Woodhouse, executed in 1573, and John Nelson, executed in 1578, though, strictly speaking, Jesuits, were only admitted into the Order after their imprisonment.)

accusations against the said John Ware and Edward Stride both as to that which resulted from their confessions, which he accepted, and as to the information received against them, and in particular he charged them with being impenitent and relapsed, because they had not wished to accomplish the penance and penalty of the galleys, imposed on them by this Holy Office, which they had promised to do and accomplish, and because it was assumed that they had returned and passed over to the errors they had held in England, which they had abjured in this Holy Office, in public *auto-de-fé*; . . .

To which accusation they replied by referring to what they had confessed, and remitting themselves to their first suit; and as to the reconciliation and abjuration and other penalties imposed on them, they said that they had always worn their san-benitos and intended doing so wherever they went even though they reached English ships, but because of the difficulties and of the rain to which they were exposed their san-benitos had been washed off. And they had nothing further to answer to the said accusation of which a copy had been given them, and also an advocate was appointed with whom to confer upon it, with whose agreement and upon whose opinion their cause was concluded as in justice seemed fitting, and the parties received to proof; and the case being at this stage the said offenders were discharged from the cells of this Holy Office and this town assigned to them as prison upon certain securities which they gave; . . .

And the cases and affairs of the said Richard Newman, Edward Stevens, John Ware, and Edward Stride, having reached this stage, the said fiscal appeared before us and denounced them, stating that whereas this city had been assigned to them as prison by this Holy Office, they had broken from it; . . .

All of which being considered by us after conference with, and having taken the opinion of persons of learning and upright conscience.

Christi Nomine Invocato.

We find having considered the proceedings, and the merits of the said causes, that the said *promotor fiscal* has well and fully proved the accusations as it was incumbent on him to do; we give and pronounce his contention to be well proved, in consequence whereof we must declare, and do declare the said Richard Newman, Edward Stevens, John Ware, and Edward Stride, to have been, and to be, heretics, apostates, fautors and concealers of heretics, fictitious confessants, and the said John Ware and Edward Stride to be im-

penitent and relapsed; and thereby to have fallen into and incurred the sentence of major excommunication and of confiscation and forfeiture of goods, which we order to be applied, and do apply, to the exchequer and royal treasury of his Majesty and his receiver in his name, from the day and time in which he first commenced to commit the said crimes of heresy, the declaration of which we reserve to ourselves, delivering their persons to justice and the secular arm,[1] . . .

The above sentence was given and pronounced by the said Inquisitor and Ordinary, who signed it with their names. And there being celebrated a public *auto-de-fé* in the Plaça de los Alamos of this city, certain high scaffolds being there erected, upon Wednesday 1st of May,[2] feast of Sts Philip and James in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety one there being present Don Pedro Salvago, Archdeacon and Canon of Canary, auditor of this Inquisition, who carried the standard of faith (replacing the fiscal Licentiate Joseph de Armas who was ill,) and four effigies in place of the persons of the said Richard Newman, Edward Stevens, Edward Stride and John Ware, Englishmen; the which were delivered to the secular Arm, being witness thereof Don Luis de la Cueua and Benavides, governor and general of these islands, Licentiates Pedro Lopez de Aldaya, Luis de Guzman, Rodrigo de Cabrera, judges of the *real audiencia*, and many other persons both ecclesiastics and laymen. All of which took place in my presence.

(Signed) P. Martinez de la Bega.

Secretary. (f. 473)

Vol. VII. 2nd Series. *Case against Hugh Wingfield.*

In Canary 25th day of September 1592, the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, Visitador of this Inquisition, holding his

[1] The sentence concludes with the usual disabilities. It will be noted that though the accused were to be relaxed in effigy only, the delivering of them to the secular arm is not omitted, but the usual recommendation of mercy is, it being clearly stated that the authorities are to *burn* the statues. About this time Domingo de Sea, a Portuguese master of a caravel, was penanced and sentenced to pay a fine for allowing English sailors on board; he declared, however, that they embarked without his consent, and that, finding that they had no licence from the Holy Office, he had wished to land them. (*Millares' Book*, v, p. 100.)

[2] Tenth public *auto-de-fé.* Besides the effigies of the four Englishmen, nineteen effigies of Moors who had fled to Barbary were also burnt; and seventeen persons were reconciled and penanced for various offences, amongst others two for bigamy. (*Millares' Book*, v, p. 109.)

morning audience, there appeared before him Juan Rico, portero, who holds the office of promotor fiscal of this Holy Office, and presented the following petition. . . .

Excellencies,

I, Juan Rico, portero of this Holy Office, denounce Hugh, of the English nation, prisoner in the royal prison of the Island of Teneriffe, he, the aforesaid being a pirate, heretic, apostate, and an enemy of our holy Catholic Faith . . . .

I ask and beseech that your Excellency do give order for his arrest with sequestration of property; . . . (f. 167)

. . . 1st Witness against Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman.

In Canary 12th day of the month of September 1592, before the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua . . . there appeared upon summons, and took oath in due form, promising to speak the truth:

Pascual Leardin, of Flemish nationality, resident of the Island of Teneriffe, being at present in that of Canary, about twenty-one years of age, who was summoned upon information that he would know of the matter to be presently dealt with.

Questioned whether he knows or presumes the cause of his having been summoned by this Holy Office.

Said: that what he knows and presumes is, that he has been summoned to give information as to ten men who put in at Abona in the Island of Teneriffe, who came thither driven by hunger, and witness saw them all in the said island of Teneriffe in the town of La Laguna. And that what he knows of this matter is, that about eight or nine days ago, a little more or less, witness having come from Garachico to the city of La Laguna, and being with Tomas de Cangas, corregidor of the said island, the latter related to witness the story of the said men, of whom he had heard something on the way and in the town of Garachico, although he had not heard details of what had occurred until the said *corregidor* told him. These were that the said men came in a boat to Abona driven in by hunger, and that confessions had been taken from all of them, and that what they had confessed was that six of them were Englishmen, who had left England in one of the Queen's ships aboard of which they carried an English gentleman, ambassador to Barbary,[1] whom they put ashore at the port of Santa Cruz, and then set sail in the said ship with the rest from that port upwards to these

[1] *See* Appendix C.

islands. And having reached the Island of La Gomera, in a certain port thereof they found a Flemish ship which had set sail from Garachico about a month before, and had been to the Island of La Palma and from thence to La Gomera, where they were then loading with axle-trees for Spain. And men from the English ship having boarded the said ship, took it, and entering therein and finding in her nothing but axle-trees, they seized the greater part of the provisions and artillery; and being thus engaged a sail was sighted, and the aforesaid English vessel set out to take it, and left the long-boat with the six Englishmen and a Fleming to beat about the coast in search of some prize; and these same Englishmen took by force three Flemings from the said Flemish ship, and carried them off in the said long-boat in which all ten put off. And in a strong wind which came on they lost sight of the English ship, and never found her again. And after they were left alone they came upon a boat with fishermen from the Island of La Palma which they took with the fish and all that it carried, and their long-boat being small, they gave it to the fishermen that they might sail away in it, and took their boat which was larger. In this they sailed about for a few days, until from sheer hunger they determined to come to the Island of Teneriffe and give themselves up, for which purpose they told the two Flemings, whom they had taken from the Flemish ship, to go on shore, as they were known there and were in no way guilty since they had been taken by force, and to state what had occurred and to say that they would deliver themselves up, if their lives were spared and no harm offered them. And thus the two Flemings went on shore and treated of the matter with the people of the said town of Abona, who promised to do as desired, and they did in fact deliver themselves up with their arms and boat. And they were taken to the town where their said confessions were taken, and seeing that the Englishmen were the pirates and the Flemings not guilty, the said Flemings were set at liberty, and the Englishmen imprisoned; . . .

Questioned whether he understood from the said Flemings that the said Englishmen besides being pirates were heretics and observed the religion of their country. . . .

Answered: that this witness never asked; . . .

2nd. Witness against Hugh Wingfield, Englishman.

In Canary, 18th day of the month of September . . . a certain man, apparently a Fleming, appeared being summoned, and took

oath in due form, and promised to speak the truth . . . and said that his name was:

Hans Anburque,[1] which means John, that he is a native of Germany, of the town of Hamburg, resident of that place, by profession a sailor. That he came to this Island of Teneriffe, to the port of Garachico, about eight weeks since, a little more or less, in a German ship loaded with timber. That the ship was called "The Three Kings," and the Master thereof Giraldo, and the merchandise was intended for Bentre Roman, resident of Garachico; and that this confessant is about twenty-four years of age.

Questioned whether witness is one of those who came with certain Englishmen to the port of Abona in the Island of Teneriffe driven in by hunger. . . .

Answered: Yes. . . .

Questioned as to the manner in which he fell into the power of the English, and how long he remained with them.

Said: That the said ship with this witness and the other men having been about two weeks in the port of Garachico, set sail for the Island of La Palma, where they remained about ten days, and from thence proceeded to the Island of La Gomera to load the said vessel with axles for carts to take the same to Seville. That about three or four weeks since, the said ship being then loaded, and this witness and all the rest on board and also Luis Rodriguez of Garachico, who was dispatching the said axles to Seville, there arrived a large English vessel carrying about twenty-five pieces of artillery, with a long boat astern which anchored close to them, in the said port of La Gomera, called Valle Hermoso. And a summons was sent from the said English ship for the men of witness's ship to come on board, and the master and merchant and the other men dared not fight seeing them so well armed, and therefore the said master, merchant and four other sailors in their own boat put off, and the master, merchant and two sailors went on board the English vessel. And then leaving the said master and merchant in their ship, twelve or thirteen Englishmen jumped into the boat and came to witness's ship and boarded her, and turned everything over and opened the hatches and took out half a fresh cow, which they found there, a barrel of wine, fish and some other provisions, and took them off to their English vessel. And a short time after the boat returned bringing in it the master and merchant whom they had frightened and threatened in order to make them say whether they

[1] *See* Appendix D.

carried anything of value in witness's ship, from which they took three sailors, witness being one, with another sailor called John, and another called Nicholas, whom they took to their English ship. And there witness and the other men remained two days, at the end of which they sighted a caravel off the Island of La Palma, and the English captain, whose name he does not know, ordered the long-boat to be manned by six Englishmen, this witness and his two comrades, and a German named Rodrigo, who came in the boat with witness yesterday, and who told him that the said Englishmen took him from a ship off the coast of Spain, bound from Norway. And thus they all entered the long-boat taking eight muskets and four or five pikes; and gave chase to the caravel, the ship remaining behind; and they followed the caravel from three or four in the afternoon until nightfall and could not come up with it. And at daybreak they could just see their ship at a great distance and at midday they completely lost sight of her, and never saw her again. And for two days they sailed about without eating a mouthful, at the end of which they went to the calms of the Island of La Palma. There, after nightfall, they jumped ashore and found two pipes and a quarto of wine, and a sailing vessel being at anchor there they entered it and found two men and a boy who put off for shore in a boat, leaving them the vessel. And having brought the quarto of wine on board and finding no water or any provisions on land they embarked in the said vessel, in which they found only two loaves and a few onions. And they left the long-boat thinking that they might reach their ship in the said vessel because it carried sails; but there being no wind they were unable to leave for three or four days, at the end of which time they rowed round the Island of La Gomera and there close to shore they found a fishing-boat with men fishing, who, seeing that they were English, jumped ashore and fled leaving the ship. And coming up they boarded her and carried off a barrel of water and half of the salt-fish, and returned to their vessel, calling to the fishermen to return for their ship. After which they put to sea and sailed about for four days more or less, and went to the Island of Teneriffe. And witness and his two comrades and the German, who is at Quiles (?), suggested to the Englishmen that as they had no food to eat and no water to drink, they should go ashore and find some, which they did with the intention of leaving the Englishmen when they got ashore. And the Englishmen approving, they made for the shore, and four of the Englishmen with witness and his comrade Nicholas landed at a

place called Montaña Roja, and looked about for water, and found none. And witness and his said comrade got away from their companions and went in search of men, and seeing them go the Englishmen called after them, and they replied that they did not wish to return but were going in search of men, seeing which the Englishmen returned to their ship, and they went on their way and came up with two fishermen, who took them to a town, the name of which is unknown to him, but which he thinks was about a league or two from Montaña Roja, where they had landed. There news of what had happened was sent to the alcalde and captain, who came with more than twenty men, and this witness and his comrade remained in the town. And at mid-day some of the men returned and told them that the Englishmen had put out to sea, and that they must follow and call to them saying that they wished to return to the ship, so that when the Englishmen came ashore they might be taken; and so they went, and the Englishmen having put to sea, witness and his comrade dared not call to them for fear of being shot at and killed with muskets from the ship. Seeing which the captain raised a white flag, and parleyed with them, telling them to come ashore, and give themselves up, and one of them, who knows Spanish, said that they would not do so, for they knew full well that they would be obliged to go to Canary, and they asked for a pilot and food, as they wished to go to Canary to surrender themselves to the President; but the captain told them that all that was desired of them was that they should surrender themselves. Meanwhile witness and his companion returned to the town and the next morning saw the said Englishmen and the two Flemings in the same town, and witness learnt that they had surrendered because they had no food, and could not do otherwise.

Questioned as to the manner in which the Englishmen prayed, and commended themselves to God, during the time witness was with them, both in the ship, and in the boat.

Replied, that during the two days that this witness was in the ship, he saw that the master summoned all the Englishmen on board, once in the morning before dinner, and again in the afternoon before nightfall, and all came on deck, where they knelt down bareheaded, and the supercargo, whose name he does not know, prayed in the English tongue, which witness does not understand, from a book which he held, and after praying a while the said supercargo began to sing, the rest singing in answer, and witness understood that they were singing psalms; . . .

Questioned whether he knew or understood what religion was followed by the said Englishmen both those who remained in the ship, and the six who came to Teneriffe.

Replied that he gathered that they were not Catholics, as he saw that what they did, and their praying, was not what Catholics do, although he cannot say with certainty what religion they held, but that this witness has heard that the people of England are Calvinists, and for such witness took, and takes, all the said Englishmen to be; . . .

3d Witness against Hugh Wingfield, Englishman. (f. 175)

In Canary, 18th day of the month of September . . . there appeared upon summons . . . . . Roderick Peter, native of the kingdom of Swabia; . . .

Questioned whether this witness is one of the four Flemings, who came to the Island of Teneriffe with six Englishmen; . . .

Replied: Yes, he is one of the four Flemings . . . and that it would be about seven weeks since they reached that place in company of the said Englishmen in a ship called the "Gabriel," belonging to the Queen of England. And witness coming from Niles port of the Kingdom of Swabia, in a ship called the "Red Stag," master John Peter, witness being a sailor on board her; the which ship was laden with timber for Lisbon; an English ship came down on them in the vicinity of an Island called Ostend, (Osente) at the mouth of the Flemish channel, and took them without fighting, and stole their provisions only, as they carried nothing else but timber. And they took witness and another Fleming from the said ship, as they were short of sailors, and allowed the rest to put off in the ship for their destination. And from thence they sailed direct for the port of Santa Cruz in Barbary, where they remained about twelve days, and put on shore at that place an English ambassador from the Queen; and at the end of the twelve days they came to make a tour of these islands in search of wine and other things, and to steal.

Questioned whether after they set sail from Santa Cruz and came to these islands, they came up with any ship or vessel which they robbed, or whether before they reached Santa Cruz after witness was with the said Englishmen, they also robbed any ship or vessel.

Replied, that after witness was with the said Englishmen they did not meet nor sight any ship, caravel or vessel except off the Island of La Gomera, where a Flemish ship was anchored, laden

with timber, out of which they took half a cow, a canary, a barrel of wine, a little dog, and three sailors of whom they had need, and the ship they left there, as she carried nothing but wood;[1] . . .

In Canary 25th day of the month of September of 1592, the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, visitador of this Inquisition, holding his afternoon audience together with Licentiate Luis de Guzman . . . . . conferring upon and examining the testified statements existing in this Inquisition, they considered amongst others those received against Francis Lewis, Robert, William, Constantine, Richard and Hugh, Englishmen, being those six who put in in a boat at the port of Montaña Roja, in the Island of Teneriffe, compelled thereto, by hunger and need; and unanimously were of opinion that the aforesaid should be arrested and brought to the secret cells of this Inquisition and their property sequestrated; . . . (f. 188)

1st Audience. In Canary 7th day of the month of October, 1592, the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua holding his morning audience, commanded a certain man to be brought in from the secret cells where he is prisoner, who, by Jorge Pacar, who swore to fill well and faithfully the office of interpreter. . . .(f.216)

Asked what is his name, age, and profession, how long he has been prisoner, and where he was born.

Replied, that he is named Huit, which means Hugh, Wingfield; that he is between twenty-three and four years, is a soldier, and a native of Rotherham in England. That he cannot say when he was arrested by the Inquisition because he has been a prisoner from the time he came to the Island of Teneriffe, that is about a month

[1] The evidence given by this witness, as also by Nicholas Christopher and Juan Giraldo, is similar to that supplied by Hans Anburque. A warrant was then issued for the arrest with sequestration of their property of Francis Lewis of Bristol, aged 20; Constantine Colling of Tavistock, near Exeter (Tavistod en la provincia de Exister); Robert Estrefi, over 16 of Hever in Kent (Hevera en Quende); Richard Percy, 25 or 26 of Drayton, fourteen leagues from London; and William Sebastian, 22, of Scarborough (Scarbar). All of whom gave evidence against Wingfield. Their statements and the accounts of their lives are of no particular interest. Colling stated that he was for some time in the service of an English captain, William Axley (Axli), who, with a small vessel and a crew of about fourteen men, sailed the English Channel for the purpose of piracy. In about thirteen weeks they seized four vessels—three English and one Irish—his share of the plunder amounting to 600 reales. After the evidence of these men was taken a warrant was issued for the transmission of the accused man Wingfield from Teneriffe to Canary.

since. And that last Friday the 2nd day of this month of October they put forth in a boat from the port of Santa Cruz, and the following Saturday he was brought to this Inquisition, where he is a prisoner. And his genealogy he gave in the following form and manner.

Parents.

Robert Wingfield, resident of the said town of Rotherham, labourer whom he left alive.

Ana Wingfield, his wife etc; . . .

Wife and children.

Said, that he is not married, and has no children whatever.

Asked of what race and lineage are his said parents and grandparents, . . . and whether they, or some of them, or this confessant, have been imprisoned, penanced, reconciled or condemned by this Holy Office of the Inquisition.

Said, that his parents and grand-parents and all those whom he has named were and are old Christians, and neither of Moorish nor Jewish race; although his parents, and such as are alive of those whom he has named, have professed and profess the Religion of the Church of England; and that neither this confessant, or any of those whom he has named have been penanced by this Holy Office.

Asked whether he is a Christian, baptized and confirmed, and if he hears mass, and goes to confession and communion at the times appointed by Holy Mother Church.

Replied, that he is a baptized Christian, being baptized in the said town of Rotherham . . . that he was baptized in the manner that others are baptized in that country; that the form of baptism is as follows, the infant is taken to the church and in presence of the godparents the minister makes the sign of the cross on its forehead with holy water; . . . And that he is confirmed, having been confirmed by an archbishop whose name he does not know. . . . And that in his land he has never heard Mass, as it is not said, but only the service used by the Protestants of England; and that this is the religion instituted by Calvin who wrote at length in praise of it; and that the ministers say that it was instituted by God; . . . And that he has never been to confession; because confession is not used in his land, as here; and that he has communicated once a year according to the form of communion in use over there, so that he has communicated six times. . . . And he commenced to say the

commandments as they are said in England, saying the first: "Thou shalt love God, and shalt not make images of anything on the earth, nor under the water, nor any image," and he said the other commandments though not in order, and they are the same as those of the law of God, here used; . . .

In Canary 7th day of the month of October etc. . . . the Inquisitor. . . commanded the said Hugh Wingfield to be brought in from the secret cells; . . . (f. 218b)

Asked for an account of his life.

Said: That he was born as he has said in his parents' house, in the said town of Rotherham and remained there up to the age of seventeen or eighteen; . . . at the end of which time he went to the city of London which is forty and more miles from his town, where he was sent by his father to be in the service of an English gentleman named Henry Baker, (Bacar) who professed the religion of the protestants. And that for the space of four years he served him in the capacity of page and did some writing for him; and at the end of this time he went with a relative to an island called Wight which going by land, as this confessant went, is about twenty-six leagues from London, and a very short sea journey. And that he remained about eighteen days more or less in the said island, enjoying himself with his relative, and visiting friends; and while he was there a ship belonging to the Queen came there by her order to fit with men, and this confessant went on board her because they compelled him to do so. And he remained in her for a whole winter upon the coast of England, which would be about five months; and all they had to do was to watch what ships entered and left the Channel, and from what places they came. And at the end of this time he went to his father's house, where he remained about a year, and while there he was pressed as a soldier on board a ship belonging to the Queen, which was stationed at a place called Chatham, where all the Queen's ships are; because in this ship was to sail an ambassador from the Queen to Barbary. And thus it may be four months since there embarked in the said ship off the aforesaid port the said ambassador, named Master Harbas, and the necessary complement of sailors and soldiers and the ship set sail for Plymouth, where she took off more men, and after seven days set sail for Barbary. And on the journey, in the vicinity of Lisbon, they met with a Flemish ship laden with timber from Flanders and took two sailors from her. . . .

Asked what is taught by those who profess the new religion;[1] . . .

Replied, that they teach and believe in the apostolic faith, and that Christ died for them, and that as He died on the Cross and shed His blood He will save them.

Asked what is taught them as to the Roman Catholic Religion; . . .

Replied that they say this religion of Spain is not good; . . .

Asked what they teach concerning the Pope of Rome, whether he is head of the church, and whether he has power to absolve and pardon sins, and to grant bulls and jubilees, and of the other things relating to his power.

Replied, that they say and teach that the pope has received no power from God to absolve or pardon sins, and that he is not the head of the church, but that the Queen of England is; and that he does not know what bulls and jubilees are, nor has he heard them spoken of over there.

Asked what they say of the mass; . . .

Asked what they say of sacramental confession. . . .

Replied that they deny confession, and say that one should not confess to men, but to God only;. . .

Asked what they teach concerning the orders of friars and nuns, such as there are in Spain.

Replied that what they teach is that the religious orders of Spain are not good, as they were not instituted by God, and are not God's institution, and that clergymen may marry. . . .

Asked what they teach as to the intercession of the saints, whether they can be intercessors with God.

Replied that they say and teach that the saints cannot intercede with God; and that one should pray to God alone.

Asked what they teach as to Purgatory.

Replied that they are of opinion that there is no Purgatory. . . .

Asked what they teach as to eating meat on days prohibited by the Roman Catholic Church, such as Fridays and Saturdays. . . .

Replied that they say meat may be eaten at all times without sin, for what enters the mouth does not injure the soul, but rather

[1] In order to crush Lutheranism at its birth, Cardinal Manrique, Inquisitor General from 1523 to 1538, made various additions to the annual edict of Faith, which were calculated to assist the faithful in detecting Lutherans; such as, whether anyone was known to have said that confession was unnecessary, that neither Pope nor priests had power to forgive sins, that priests, monks and nuns should marry, that matrimony was a more perfect state than that of the clergy, celibates, and so on.

that which goes forth from it; although by the Queen's order it is not eaten on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays so that fish may be used.

Asked what is said of fasts, disciplines etc.; . . .

Said that fastings and disciplines are not necessary nor any works by which the body is chastised, because external corporal works are not necessary, as the heart alone matters.

Asked whether this confessant has believed and held to be good all those things of the new religion which he has mentioned. . . .

Replied that he has believed and held to be good all the said things of the new religion, and for such he believes and holds them to be, because in this creed he was brought up and has known and knows no other. . . .

Questioned whether he has heard that there is a Roman Catholic Church, and that the said new religion and all its opinions and ceremonies are contrary to what the Roman Catholic Church teaches and preaches, and whether he has been instructed in the matters of our Holy Catholic Faith, or in any of them.

Replied, that he has heard in a general way that there is a Roman Catholic Church and has heard that it is contrary to the said new religion observed over there and to all things pertaining to it, but he has not been instructed in the matters of the Roman Church, and ignores the principles and all details of that Church, because he has never had knowledge of it.

He was informed that this confessant is notified that he has been in error in believing and holding that the said new religion, and things pertaining to it are profitable for his salvation, because they are all false and in holding and believing in them he will be condemned, for in the Roman Catholic Church, and in keeping and observing the faith she teaches and preaches, only can the soul be saved; and that this Roman Church is the true one, and is the church which this confessant promised to follow when he received the holy sacrament of baptism; and she condemns the said new religion as bad and false. He is therefore admonished to consider in which of the two religions he wishes to live and die, whether in the Roman Catholic Church, through whose medium he will be saved, or in the new which he has followed until now, in which his soul will be condemned.

Replied, that he has been brought up and instructed in the new religion of which he has spoken, and has not known, nor does he know, any other; and that he does not pertinaciously defend

this religion nor does he condemn the Roman Catholic, but not knowing anything of the latter, nor having been instructed in it, how can he abandon that which he knows, and promise to follow that which he does not know; he therefore begs that some learned man may instruct him; . . .

He was told to recommend himself to God in all truth, and beg Him to enlighten his understanding, and give him help that he may learn the truth; . . .

Replied; that he will do so, and that all he desires is to know the truth; . .

Auto for his instruction.

In Canary, eighth day of the month of October. . . . . Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua . . . said, that considering that Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman, the accused in this process, says in the audiences given him that he is ready to profess the Roman Catholic Religion if he is instructed in matters pertaining to it . . . he commands that Friar Pedro Basilio de Peñalosa and Doctor Fernando Diaz de Vera, archdeacon of Teneriffe, be advised, that they may instruct the said Hugh Wingfield, and with fundamental principles undeceive him of the errors of the new religion of England, and teach him the truth of the catholic, inasmuch as he is a man of intelligence and versed in the Latin tongue, in which tongue the instruction shall be given; . . . (f. 228)

In Canary fifteenth day of the month of October . . . the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua . . . commanded to be brought in from the secret cells the said (f. 228b)

Hugh Wingfield, Englishman, who, through the said Jorge Pacar . . . was asked what he had thought of with respect to his case; . . .

Replied, that he has thought over the matter, and has nothing further to say than what he has already said, which is that a person be appointed to instruct him in the truth, if he is in error.

And then the said Inquisitor commanded Friar Pedro Basilio de Peñalosa of the order of St. Benedict, and Doctor Fernando Diaz de Vera, archdeacon of Teneriffe, to come into the court . . .

And then the said Friar Pedro Basilio de Peñalosa and Doctor Fernando Diaz de Vera began in Latin to give him instruction, and having been with him from nine o'clock to half-past eleven persuading and instructing him, the said Inquisitor told the interpreter, the said Jorge Pacar, to tell the said Hugh Wingfield

to state in his own tongue, what the said qualificators had dealt of. Which being communicated to him by means of the said interpreter he replied: that what has been dealt of to-day has been merely the persuading him with writings, reasons, principles and arguments that the true church instituted by Christ is and has been the Catholic Religion of the Roman Church, and not that of his land of England; . . .

[Further instruction of the accused.] (ff. 230–236)

. . . Said that it has been proposed to him that the church of England is not a church but rather the synagogue of the devil, and that neither in her, her creed, or matters pertaining to her, can one be saved; and that she is condemned by the Church of Rome as such, and that he, as a person who has now received instruction in the Catholic truth of the Roman church, confesses that the said new religion of his country is bad, and in her and all her opinions and ceremonies, lies the soul's perdition; and he detests and abominates them, and severs himself from them and from the said religion, and recognizes that the true faith and Catholic religion is that of the Roman Church in which he has been instructed, and in which he protests to live and die, never severing himself from her. And he asks with great humility, submission, and obedience and fear of God, to be received by this his conversion into the fold of the holy Catholic Church; . . . (f. 235b)

Accusation. (f. 240)

Most Illustrious Sirs,

I Juan Rico, portero, . . . bring a criminal charge against Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman, native of the town of Rotherham in England, soldier of a ship named the "Gabriel," belonging to the Queen, a prisoner in the secret cells of this Holy Office. . . .

I say that the aforesaid being a baptized Christian, having little fear of God, our Lord, to the great hurt of his soul and conscience has committed heresy and has apostatized from our Holy Catholic Faith and evangelical creed, passing over to and holding the false and accursed creed of Martin Luther and his followers believing it to be good, and in particular

1. That the aforesaid being in the said kingdom of England from a very early age always followed the new creed of the protestants holding it to be good, knowing and having knowledge of the Catholic Religion; . . .

2. Item; that during the voyage on board the Queen's ship in which he set sail from England on this last occasion, he usually attended the service and prayers; . . .

3. Item, I accuse him of being a known enemy to Catholics, who as such, having given full satisfaction that he would persecute and do them greater injury than others, was dispatched in the said ship, which captured such Catholic ships as she met with; . . .

4. And for the same purpose, and on the said understanding he was sent from the ship in a boat, when in the vicinity of the Island of La Palma, to follow a sail sighted in those parts. and the aforesaid and the rest followed it and did not plunder or seize the vessel, because they were unable to come up with it; and it must be presumed that he has committed many other thefts from and murders of Catholics.

5. Item, I accuse him because having been admonished by your worship to abandon his sect and to follow the Catholic Religion of the Church of Rome, as the true one; the accused, being under obligation to give credence to your worship as his judge, and to sever himself from his false belief, he not only refused to do so, but defended and pertinaciously upheld the principles of the said sect of the protestants with all his powers. And great efforts being made to convince him of the truth, he was brought to say that he was converted to our holy catholic faith, and abandoned his new religion, which he did out of complaisance and to escape the penalty which he feared, remaining a heretic as he was before, which may be inferred from the aforesaid reasons.

And he has committed many other sins of heresy and apostasy, of which I propose to accuse him more formally; . . .

I therefore ask and beseech your worship, my statement being accepted as truthful, or such part as is necessary, to declare my contention well proved and the said Hugh Wingfield to have been and to be a heretic, apostate, fautor and concealer of others, and by this to have incurred the sentence of major excommunication and to be bound thereby, and to have forfeited his goods, the which be applied to the exchequer of the King, our Lord, and to his receiver in his name; delivering his person to justice and the secular arm; . . .

And the said accusation being presented and read, the oath was administered in due and rightful manner to the said Hugh Wingfield in presence of his said curator under seal of which he promised to speak and answer truthfully; . . . (f. 241b)

To the opening charge of the said accusation he said: that it is true that he has followed the religion of the protestants of his country, as he has confessed, even though he is baptized, but if he has done so it is because he had been taught that religion and no other; and he refers to what he has already said.

To the first special charge he said: That what is contained in this first charge is true, but he had not received the light of the Catholic faith; . . .

2. To the second charge he replied: That it is true that confessant assisted with the others at service and prayers, during the time he was on board ship; . . .

3. To the third charge he said: That he was forced to sail in the ship and is not, and was not, a greater enemy of Catholics than the rest, and that as to the further matters contained in this charge, he refers to what he has already said.

4. To the fourth charge, he said: That he put off in the boat by order of the captain of the English vessel, as he has admitted in his confessions, to which he refers, and that he has never in his life ill-treated or robbed Catholics or done more than what he has already confessed.

5. To the fifth charge he replied: That it is true that at first he said he did not wish to abandon his religion as he knew no other but that of his country, but that he said so not in contradiction of what he had been told but because he desired first to be instructed, and thus after he had been instructed in the principles of the Catholic religion he was converted to our holy catholic faith of the church of Rome, and this not from fear nor pretence, but because he was truthfully converted to our holy faith; . . .

To the concluding charges of the accusation and all the rest he said that as a sinner he might have fallen into many faults with respect to his religion, and that he has spoken the truth, and knows nothing further that he might say, and that if he has been wicked before, he now humbly begs to be received into the fold of the Catholic Church. . . .

In Canary 30th day of December . . . the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, *visitador* of this Inquisition, holding his afternoon audience commanded the said Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman, to be brought from the secret cells and through the interpreter, Jorge Pacar . . . was asked what he has thought of with respect to his case (f. 244b)

Said, that he has spoken the truth throughout his case, and he merely asks pardon for having broken from prison.

Asked in what manner this prisoner and the rest had broken their prison

Said, that about twelve or fifteen days after this confessant was imprisoned in the secret cells, in that cell which he now occupies, which would be about two months and a half since, a little more or less, Pedro de Herrera, a Morisco, confessant's prison companion, chanced one day to be leaning against the inner barred door, and was moving it when the lock opened; and about two or three days later Mathias, confessant's prison companion, put his hand through a hole near the frame of the door, between it and the wall, and was able to unbolt the outer door which had no key, and henceforward from that day they were able to open both doors. And two or three days before all this William Roger came one day to the door of their cell between twelve and one and talked with them, and it seems to this confessant that he returned the same evening and unbolted the door and also stopped to talk with them, and the said William Roger came in this way to talk, by day and by night, for two or three days before this confessant and his companions began to come out from their cell. And it was found possible to open all the cells, with the exception of the top one in the little gallery, and to come out by day and night and meet in one another's cells to talk and sup together. And this confessant understands that on several occasions the other prisoners dined together in the middle of the day, but he never saw them, and never dined with anyone himself at midday. And throughout the aforesaid time this confessant and his prison companions, Mathias and Pedro de Herrera, took supper once in each different cell, the first time in the cell occupied by William Roger and Constantine, Englishmen, and that same night there came to take supper with them Castro Verde, Spaniard, Francis Louis, Englishman, Rodrigo, Fleming, etc. . . .; And on the second occasion this confessant and his said two companions took supper with the said Castro Verde and Francis Louis, and Rodrigo was there and the said William Roger and Constantine also came that same night. And the third time they supped in the cell of John and Richard, Englishmen, which faces this confessant's cell, and this was the night on which they were heard, about twelve days ago. And he now remembers that the first time they went to supper in another cell they went to the cell of John and Richard, and Nicholas Christopher was also there, and all six took supper to-

gether with Bartholomew Cole (Coello) and Robert Strachey? (Estrefi) Englishmen, and a friar whose name he does not know all companions from another cell, who were also there that night. And before the last night on which they were heard, all the prisoners from the lower cells came up not excepting one, and all supped together in this confessant's cell, there being fourteen persons. . . . And without this confessant and his companions joining them, he knew that the other prisoners assembled for supper other nights, and finally throughout the said time until they were heard the prisoners left their cells to talk and meet together, some with some, others with others, both by night and day, some nights for supper and others for conversation; . . .

Asked whether this confessant and all the rest spoke of or communicated to one another anything relating to their cases; . . .

Replied, that this confessant has not given an account of the state of his case, and does not know that the others spoke of theirs, excepting to say that they had confidence mercy would be shown to them, as it is shown in Spain.

Asked what the other prisoners, both English and German, have told and declared to him respecting the religion they profess; . . .

Said, that none of the rest have declared anything to this confessant, but he understands that all desire to follow the Roman Catholic religion, as all are employed in learning the prayers.

Asked if, after they had been heard and all the cells mended so that they could not get out, they had spoken or communicated with one another from their cells, either by speaking loud, or in any other way

Replied, that after they were heard, and the cells were mended, they have not left them, because they cannot, and that sometimes they have spoken from their cells, but only to ask each other how they were; . . .

Asked whether they have sometimes spoken of leaving the cells and escaping.

Said, that they have neither spoken nor thought of it.

Asked whether after they were caught talking, they have arranged what to reply respecting the communications they have held.

Said, that they made no arrangements with respect to any of the things upon which he has been questioned; . . .

In Canary 23d day of February 1593, Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, visitador of this Inquisition holding his morning audience, there appeared before him:

Doctor Alonso Fiesco, physician of the Inquisition and said that deponent has attended for ten or twelve days in the secret cells an Englishman named Hugh who from that time until now has been suffering from a bloody flux with great pains in the stomach and insomnia and other serious complications, and in spite of remedies he becomes worse; and because of the little opportunity there is of effecting a cure in the cells, it is fitting that he be removed from them to a hospital where he may be restored with care to health. . . . (f. 248.)

In Canary 23d day of the month of February 1593, the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua being in the audience chamber . . . commanded that Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman,. . . be brought in from the secret cells

Asked for information as to the cells, and the secrecy thereof

Said, that after the last visit of the alcaide and purveyor they have been treated better than before, and he knows of nothing which requires remedying in the cells, nor do the prisoners communicate from one cell to the other, nor has any one of his companions given him any commission for outside; . . . (f. 248.)

To the administrator of the hospital of San Martin of Canary.

The Inquisitors have come to the decision that Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman, who has been a prisoner in the secret cells, being very ill, shall be taken to the above hospital, where they give order he be attended with all necessary care and diligence. Your worship should therefore give order for him to be received. . . .

The aforesaid was received by me into the said hospital on this day, said month and year. Pedro Alarcon. (f. 249.)

On the 22nd. day of the month of June 1593, at eight in the morning. Hugh Wingfield, an Englishman, returned from the hospital. (f. 249.)

In Canary the said day, 22nd of June . . . the Inquisitor Doctor Claudio de la Cueua . . . said that as Hugh Wingfield is now restored to health, and his case having reached a stage which enables him to be set free, especially as in the cells he is maintained at the cost of the fisc, he commanded and commands that he be free to go into the said town, looking upon it as his prison, and at night return to sleep at the said hospital, from whence he has come,

until such time as he finds an employer with whom to reside, and this his case be finished and concluded; and that having found an employer he do return to this Holy Office to report; . . .

And then an oath was received from the said Wingfield, Englishman, in the lawful form, under seal of which he promised to keep this city as a prison, and not to leave it either on foot or otherwise in any manner whatsoever, and that he will sleep by night at the hospital until such time as he may find an employer, and upon finding one he will report, and thus he took oath; . . .

Jorge Pacar Hugh Winkffelde.

Cover: Case against Hugh Wingfield, native of Rotherham in England, soldier of the English ship " St Gabriel."

Prisoner
age 23 years
In the hospital.

Monitions 1, 2, 3.
Curator and advocate.
Licentiate Alfaro.
Accusation
To proof.

Is released on his sworn word.

Escaped with other Englishmen, and Flemings.[1] (f. 250b.)

Vol. VII. 2nd Series.

Copy of part of a letter from the members of the Council of the Holy General Inquisition addressed to this Holy Office on the 26th of January of this year, 1594. (f. 272.)

We received the letters which you, Doctor Claudio, wrote to the Council on the 29th of October of last year, 1593, and on the 15th, 16th, 19th, and 24th of November of the same year. Which having seen, and having taken counsel with his Eminence the Cardinal Inquisitor General, it appears that for the present, until you receive further orders, you shall not take proceedings against any masters, nor mariners, nor any foreigners, nor against their ships or property, unless you have previously received information that they have offended against the faith within the dominions of the Spanish crown,[2] or within those isles, or whilst their ships are at anchors

[1] Though Wingfield escaped the other five Englishmen appeared in the auto of December 21, 1597. (*See* Note *p.* 80.)

[2] Similar instructions were issued by the Suprema to the tribunals in 1597, in favour of the ships of the Hansa. (*Lea*, vol. III, p. 463.)

in the ports thereof. And in conformity with these presents you shall expedite the cases pending in that Holy Office with all brevity and justice. And since before you, Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, went to those isles commerce with foreigners was tolerated, his Majesty's Governor there knowing who are rebels, and who are to be allowed commerce and intercourse (this being his province) you should have reported to his Eminence and the Council before making so many prisoners, and confiscations of ships and property, so that in a matter of such importance order could be given you how to act, especially when such inconvenience exists in that Inquisition, with respect to funds and prisons.

Juan de Olivares.

Vol. XIII. 1st series.

Case against Bartholomew Cole, (Coello) Englishman.

In Canary 12th day of the month of July 1591, Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno, holding his afternoon audience a man appeared before him without summons, from whom the oath was received. . . .

That for the discharge of his conscience he comes to say and declare to this Holy Office that last night after nightfall, this witness was at the house of Leonor Martin, wife of Juan de Tonar . . . and there was also present Francisco, servant of Licentiate Guzman, judge of the royal court of these islands, who told this witness that Licentiate P. Lopez de Aldaya had put to torture, in his house, a certain man taken prisoner by Don Luis de la Cueua, who under torture had confessed that he was an Englishman and a heretic, and that he sailed the seas for plunder, but he was not told the Englishman's name; . . . (f. 144)

Against Bartholomew Cole (Quello) and Robert Brown.

In Canary 15th day of the month of July . . . there appeared upon summons a man . . . who gave his name as:

Alonso del Corral resident of this island, native of the town of Valladolid, royal notary. . . .

Asked if he knows, presumes or suspects the reason of his being summoned by this Holy Office.

Said, that he neither knows nor presumes, unless it is the work of some person from Gomera who wishes him ill for certain business transacted there, or in accordance with his duty. He presumes

it may concern the business of the Scotchmen upon which he is now engaged.

He was told to state and declare what he has learnt or gathered from any source concerning the said Scotchmen and other foreigners, if there are any in the island, from what lands they come, and how many he knows.

Said that all he knows is that the case of the Scotch ship[1] was brought before him in his capacity of notary. Of which ship, the "St James," Robert Brown is master; and from the inquiries it is made clear that some of the men of the said ship are Englishmen from the town of Saltash, and other places, as in the said process is set forth. . . .

Asked whether he has taken proceedings against any other Englishmen besides those of the said ship.

Said that another process is pending before this witness against Nicholas Rankin, (Renchin) and William Home (Hum) and others of the ship called the "St Thomas," who call themselves Scotchmen, and as to this second ship the inquiry is now in progress.

Asked whether he has taken the confessions, or put to torture any of the said Englishmen of the first ship, and at what place and time.

Said, that as to the first ship, the "St James," some confessions were taken by the said president and by Licentiate Pedro Lopes de Aldaya, judge of the royal court, from some of the men of the said ship, and especially from Bartholomew Cole, who is one of the chief officers of the said ship, who was put to torture as will appear from the said process. . . .

Asked whether the said Cole declared in his confession that he had been a pirate on the seas, and was of the rebels and schismatics of England.

Said that he understands that he did not, but refers to the process.

He was notified that there is a statement in this Holy Office, that the said Cole admitted in the confession made before witness as a notary, that he is an Englishman, and also a heretic and pirate, who sailed the seas for plunder, as to which he must speak the truth.

Said, that he does not remember his making this statement, but refers to the process, where whether he declared himself to be an Englishman and other things will appear.

[1] Appendix E.

Asked of what place the said Robert Brown, master, in his confessions declared himself to be a native.

Said, that it seems to him that he declared himself to be Scotch, but he does not remember from what town he said that he came.

Asked if this witness knows whether the said Robert Brown is of the rebels and schismatics enemies of our holy Catholic faith, and has followed the calling of pirate at sea.

Said, that as regards the said Robert Brown it seems to him that the process proves him to have been found in an English ship, which robbed a Christian ship at sea, and it appears to him that the aforesaid declared that he had been captured by Englishmen, and was forced to remain on board the ship; . . . (f. 145)

Against Bartholomew Cole, and Robert Brown.

In Canary on the said day, 15th July . . . there appeared upon summons a man . . . and gave his name as:

Diego del Billar Vgarte resident of this city. . . .

Asked if he knows of anyone who has done or said anything which is, or appears to be, contrary to our holy Catholic faith. . . .

Said, that he knows nothing more than that this witness went to the Island of Teneriffe upon commission from the president of this court (of Canary) to fetch two ships one named the "Marguerite" from Roscoff (Rosco) province of France, and another said to be the "St James," alleged to be from Scotland, and in their declarations the men said they were Scotchmen from a certain town, the name of which he cannot remember. The which men this witness suspects are English, but he has no certain knowledge of this; and that the master of the Scotch ship is called Robert Brown, and that the supercargo was named Bartholomew Cole; and in the confessions which this witness took from them they said they were Scotch as were also the mariners and boys of the said ship, numbering seventeen or eighteen, nine (?) of whom remained prisoners at La Laguna, and the rest were brought to this city together with the said master and supercargo. . . .

Asked whether this witness knows that any one of these Scotchmen has declared in his confessions that he has been a pirate, and in company of English pirates.

Said, that a Portuguese, or rather two, made a declaration in Teneriffe that they had been robbed on board ship by some Englishmen in whose company was the said Robert, and that certain inquiries being held in that place it was found that the said Robert

had been boatswain of an English pinnace, which he admitted and recognized one of the Portuguese, but said he did not know the other; and that he said that he had been present when Englishmen plundered the ship on board of which was the aforesaid Portuguese, but that he himself had been captured by Englishmen on his way to Scotland, and was compelled to accompany them. (f. 146)

Canary the said day, month and year . . . there appeared upon summons a man . . . who gave his name as:

Juan Lopez procurator of the royal court of these islands. . . .

Asked if he knows of any person, etc.;

Said, that he knows nothing more than that this witness was summoned by Don Luis de la Cueua, governor and commander-in-chief of these islands, to act as curator to certain English minors, against whom he has taken proceedings for coming to these islands with a certain ship; and that this witness has had to examine four boys and a merchant, one Bartholomew Cole, but he cannot remember the names of the boys. And that in their confessions they declared that they were natives of the kingdom of England, as were all the men of the ship, with the exception of one; and that they had left England some five months since; and that the said Cole in his first two confessions had declared himself to be Scotch, and afterwards said he was English as were all the rest with the exception of one, the pilot, who was Scotch, and that the ship, also was an English vessel.

Asked the names of the persons with whom the said Englishmen in their confessions said that they held trade and intercourse, and to whom their merchandise was addressed and to whom according to their confessions the goods in the ship belong.

Said, that Cole had merely stated that the merchandise he carried belonged to an Englishman, who is married in the Island of St Miguel, and to another Englishman, who resides in England, and that he held no trade or commerce with any other person in these islands, with the exception of one Manforte, who is a prisoner in the corporation prisons, who came to Teneriffe from the Abajo Isles to wait for the said Cole, by order of the said Englishman who is in St Miguel; and to have the cargo ready to be dispatched in the vessel; and that in a note written by the said Cole to the said Manforte he complained that because of the delay in getting the cargo ready, he had brought this trouble upon him; but that even under torture he did not confess to holding trade and intercourse

with any one in these islands; and that he confessed that he was to load with wine in Teneriffe for the Terceiras.[1] . . . (f. 147b)

Evidence against Francisco Amado and Hernando de Cabrera Betancor.

In Canary 5th day of the month of September 1592 in presence of the Inquisitor Don Claudio de la Cueua . . . there appeared unsummoned . . . a man who gave his name as:

Matheos Moçeque resident and native of the Island of Lanzarote, residing at present in this city, of the age of sixty, more or less, who said that for the discharge of his conscience, and because the fiscal of this Holy Office had told him he was under obligation to do so, he comes to state that about two years since, Sancho de Herrera Ayala and Francisco Amado notary, both residents of the Island of Lanzarote, set out from the said island in a caravel loaded with wheat for the Island of Madeira, and on the way they met with an English vessel, and the said Englishmen captured both themselves and the caravel and at the end of a few days they returned to the said island together with the English vessel which anchored with the caravel in the port called Puerto de Naos. And the said Francisco Amado came on shore and took four butts of wine, some cows, he cannot remember how many, a dozen sheep, and some vegetables, and this witness saw that the said wine, cows and sheep and fresh bread were taken out of the town by Hernando de Cabrera Betancor, familiar of this Holy Office, and he has heard say that he took them to the port and gave them to the Englishmen in ransom of the said caravel and men on board of it, and that the Englishmen received them and left the caravel and men and put off, of which matter Juan Perdomo Betancor can give evidence.[2] . . .(f. 195)

[1] John Gache, English merchant of Hierro, was also summoned, and gave evidence to the effect that he had been engaged to act as interpreter to the English prisoners who had confessed that they were English and not Scotch; that they had come from Saltash with a cargo of cloth and sardines to Teneriffe, and were to take a return cargo of wine; that some say they are robbers, others that they are spies. Other witnesses summoned declared the Englishmen to be pirates.

[2] The case does not appear to have been carried further. The charge against the accused was of holding intercourse with and supplying food to heretics. For a similar offence—that is, of having had commerce with certain English pirates—Sebastian Garcia was sentenced in 1587 to verguenza—that is, to be paraded through the streets, stripped to the waist, while the town crier proclaimed the offence, of which the culprit had been found guilty. (*Millares' Book*, v, p. 87.)

Egerton MSS. 1512 (British Museum).

Confessions of Bartholomew Cole, an Englishman, prisoner in the secret cells of this Inquisition of Canary. (f. 29)

In Canary 9th day of the month of January 1592, the Inquisitor Licentiate Francisco Madaleno holding his morning audience, commanded a certain man to be brought in from the cells of this Holy Office, to whom being present the oath was administered in due form, by which he was pledged to speak truth, both in this audience as in all others given him, until his cause should be concluded.

Questioned,

Said his name is Bartholomew Cole, merchant, native of Barnstaple (Bastable), England, of the age of twenty-three years more or less; and he declared his genealogy in the following manner, and said that the day before yesterday he was brought a prisoner to the cells of this Holy Office.

The report upon the case of this criminal has been sent to the Council in two letters, one of the 9th of March and the other of the 29th of October of last year, 1593, for which reason nothing is given here, but a report of those audiences which concern the service of the king, our lord, which are as follows.

In Canary 13th day of the month of December 1593, the Inquisitor, Doctor Claudio de la Cueua, Visitador of this Inquisition holding his afternoon audience, ordered the said Bartholomew Cole, of English nationality, to be brought in from the secret cells, who, being present, was notified that the alcaide had reported that he had asked for an audience for which reason order was given for him to be brought in; let him, therefore, consider what he wishes to say, and under pledge of the oath he has taken speak the truth.

Said, that he has asked for this audience in order to speak of various matters which have lain heavily on him because he has not spoken of them before, and at the last audience, and at previous ones since his conversion to our holy catholic faith, he was about to speak of them, and did not do so for reasons which he will give later. And what he wishes to say is that this present month of December makes two years that this confessant, being by order of this Holy Office a prisoner in the public gaol of this city of Canary, considering within himself in what manner he could procure his freedom, determined to write a letter to Licentiate Pedro Lopez

de Aldaya,[1] formerly president of the royal court of these isles, who had gone to Spain being appointed to the town of Granada. For whom this confessant had special friendship, he having conceived for this confessant a particular friendship and done him good service in this city. And as a result of these thoughts this confessant wrote the said letter asking him to help him in Spain so that he might regain his liberty, or his cause be expedited in this Holy Office, as he feared it would go very slowly, and that it would be more to the service of God and the king that he should be taken to Spain. And he cannot remember whether he spoke of other matters, but thinks not. Which letter was given by confessant to the son of the alcaide of the public prison, named Andres Martinez, who was to give it to Licentiate Rodrigo de Cabrera, judge of the royal court, to whom this confessant had been recommended by Licentiate Pedro Lopez de Aldaya, and he sent the letter open for him to seal and dispatch it to the aforesaid. And on returning with the answer, the said Andres Martinez told this confessant that he had given the letter to the said Licentiate Cabrera, and that in his presence one of his pages sealed it, and that he had said he would forward it with much pleasure, and would do anything that he could for this confessant. And afterwards on the 7th of January of 1592 this confessant was arrested and imprisoned in the secret cells of this Holy Office, and having fallen ill was removed on the 23rd of March of the said year and taken to the hospital of St Martin where he was placed in a room alone. And having been in hospital more than a month, one day towards nightfall a soldier came into the room, who being ill had come there to be cured. And he gave this confessant a new note-book in which one can write with a little iron instrument, and he said that it had been given to him by William Roger, an Englishman who was then serving Daniel Bandama, a merchant resident of this city, and who had come from England under charge of this confessant. And he said that the said William had asked him whether he knew anything of an Englishman, who was ill in the hospital, and whether he had spoken to him, and that he had replied that he had seen him, and that he was in a room apart, through which he passed but that he had not spoken to him, and that if there was anything to take

[1] It will be noted that it was in the house of Lopez de Aldaya that Cole was put to torture and confessed to being an Englishman, after his arrest by the Governor. In the Canaries, as elsewhere, torture was part of the machinery of the civil law.

to this confessant he would take it. And with this the said soldier went out, no one having seen him, having arranged with this confessant that he should return for the answer. And a light having been put in his room and being alone he opened the book and saw that William Roger had written something in it which he read, and it was that he was grieved at his illness and that he had come to the hospital in order to see him, but they would not let him enter, and that if henceforward there was anything in which he could serve him, he would do it; and he informed him that Pedro Thomas was about to sail for Spain, and it seemed to him that this confessant would do well to write a letter to the said Licentiate Aldaya asking him if possible to help him from there, and that this confessant should answer with all possible dispatch as the ship was on the point of sailing.

Seeing which this confessant determined to write a second time to the said Licentiate Aldaya, and having no paper he was at a loss how to write, and wrote in the aforesaid note-book, filling five or six leaves in Spanish, as well as he could, though it was somewhat mixed with Portuguese. And the substance of what he wrote was an account of his illness, and that he gathered that his cause would go very slowly in this Holy Office, and begged him to help him as much as possible so that order might be given for him to be taken to Spain, from which great service would ensue to God and the king; and that he alone could do the king greater service than any one else though they might be at great expense, and employ more devious ways. And that he desired no further reward for this than his liberty, and that of his men, begging him in God's name to exert himself as much as possible as the matter was of great importance, using every means in his power that the matter might be treated seriously. And that this confessant would not reveal the information he held although he might be much pressed, save to the King himself, or to the said Pedro Lopez de Aldaya. And this was the substance of the letter, which he did not sign, because of the risk that it might fall into the hands of Englishmen, who might know this confessant, upon whom harm would fall when he returned to England, which he thought of doing, and also upon his partners with whom he had dealings. And having written the said letters on the leaves of the said book, he gave it back to the soldier having used the remaining leaves to write to William Roger giving him instructions as to the sending of the said leaves to the said Licentiate Aldaya. And he never received any answer from

the said William Roger, or heard whether the soldier had ever given him the said book, although he told him that he had done so, until after his recovery and return to the secret cells, about fourteen months since, when the said William Roger being also a prisoner at the time when the communications of which he had spoken in other audiences took place, the aforesaid told this confessant that he had received the note-book, and had forwarded the leaves addressed to the said Licentiate Aldaya enclosed in a sealed envelope like a letter, by means of Guillermo de Ayala or Pedro Thomas, he does not know which, but he could not say whether they had been received; and this confessant does not know to this day, but supposes that they were lost as he has heard nothing about them, or that Don Luis de la Cueua seized them, as a boy in the hospital told him that the said Don Luis had seized the letters that the said Peter Thomas was sending to Spain and had prevented him from going, and also from sending the letters. And this confessant imagines that if this is so the leaves were seized by the said Don Luis as well as the letters as they were together, but he knows nothing for certain. And although this confessant wrote to the said Licentiate Aldaya what he has stated, he did not do so from any good will to the King nor to religion, because as he has confessed he was then a heretic, professing the new religion of the protestants of England, but it seemed to him that promising such important things they would not fail to give order for him to be sent to Spain, in which case upon giving the King information of certain matters known to this confessant, mercy would be shown him and liberty given to himself and his men; or that on the journey he might be taken by Englishmen, and his end gained.

And although he was afterwards converted to our holy Catholic Faith at the time stated in his confessions, that is on the 13th of October of this year, and understood that he was under obligation to relate these things of which he now speaks, and all those he has to declare for the service of God and of the King our lord, yet he did not do so, considering that if order were to come for him to be sent to Spain, and this confessant had given the said information, the order would not be executed, and that the King having learnt these things by this means and not from his own mouth might chastise him. And being afeared of the daring which had prompted him to write that of which he has spoken, having no desire whatever for the King's welfare, nor any intention of assisting him in

anything he had promised excepting in such things as were to this confessant's interest, he was silent and concealed the matter, and also because he thought the letter might have been lost, and therefore he would not have to treat of it. But now, within the last six or seven days, bearing in mind that he is, as he now is, converted to our holy Catholic Faith, and therefore under obligation to speak truth in all things, and considering also that if this confessant further refrains from revealing that which he has to reveal some harm might ensue to the King and the whole kingdom, he determined to relate what is occurring. And yesterday morning, being a feast day, he told the alcaide to tell his worship the Inquisitor that it was of great importance that he should be brought into this court to declare that which he has declared, and also those things which he thought to declare to his Majesty, and had offered to relate if he were taken to Spain. And now he will relate them with a different intention and motive than those which formerly prompted him as then, as he has said, his intention was not good, as he lacked the principal thing which is faith; but now that God has mercifully brought him to his present state, he will declare them with good faith and very good will, as a man who has determined to free himself of the world, and the ways in which he walked before he was converted.

And firstly, this confessant being in the town of Plymouth in England about to sail for these islands, at the end of December of the year '90, or in January of '91, an English merchant, John Norris (Nores) resident of Barnstaple, told this confessant that the King of Poland, or some parts of his kingdom which were under the dominion of Turkey, had risen against the Turk, for which reason the Turk was raising a great army to come down on him. Hearing which, the King of Poland was afraid and wrote to the Queen of England to favour and assist him by interceding with the Turk that he might not carry out his intention; and the Queen of England wrote to the Turk on the matter, asking this favour most earnestly, sending the letter to her ambassador at Constantinople, who presented it. Which having seen the Turk sent a letter to the Queen in reply, a copy of which was seen and read by this confessant who had a copy made of it; which letter was shown him by the said John Norris in Plymouth at the house of John Philip, an English merchant, mayor of Plymouth,[1] who had obtained it from the

[1] John Phillips, an English merchant, was really Mayor of Plymouth, but, oddly enough, not till 1593-4, later than the date of this confession. (Worth,

Earl of Cumberland, at the court of the Queen. And it gave great pleasure there to see that the Turk was so much in favour of the Queen; and this confessant afterwards threw the copy of this letter into the sea, or burnt it, before reaching Teneriffe on this last voyage, fearing that it might be found. And the substance of the Turk's reply to the Queen was that he had received a letter from her, through her ambassador who resides in Constantinople, written in favour of his vassal the King of Poland,[1] and out of respect for the Queen and because of her intercession he was willing to grant the request made in favour of the said King, and thus he had given order for an army of fifty thousand men which had been on the march six or seven days to be stopped, and also another army of forty thousand men which had set out from another place to join the said fifty thousand men. And thus he had detained the whole ninety thousand men from going upon the said expedition to Poland, and would do what the King desired provided that he would chastise those who had rebelled against Turkey; and that from thenceforward he would forbid any wheat, cables, masts or powder or anything else to be exported from his kingdom to be used against the Queen of England, to the benefit of the King of Spain. And that

History of Plymouth, p. 128.) Possibly "Mayor" is a mistake for Alderman. Whoever Bartholomew Cole may have been, he was evidently well acquainted with west country trade; much of the information he gives is corroborated from other sources. Possibly he may have been related to Richard Cole, who was Mayor of Bristol in 1586. (Latimer, *Sixteenth Century Bristol*, p. 85.)

[1] Owing to molestations of his subjects by the Cossacks, the Sultan was at this date preparing to invade Poland. England, however, had trade relations with Poland, receiving thence corn, gunpowder, timber, ordnance, etc., and on these grounds, among others, Elizabeth appealed to the Porte in favour of the King of Poland. The English Ambassador at Constantinople at this time was Edward Barton, who had replaced William Harborne after 1588. His mission was successful; the Sultan made peace, as he declared, at Elizabeth's desire. (*Hakluyt Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., vol. vi, p. 69, *et seq.*; also *Ven. St. P. Cal.*, Nos. 946 and 947.) In fact, England and the Porte were drawn together by their common hostility to Spain. As far back as 1586 the Turks had been provoked by the Spanish occupation of Perim. This enabled Spain to command the route from the Indies to Cairo and so threaten the Pilgrims Road to Mecca. (*Cal. Ven. St. P.*, No. 385.) About the same time the Grand Vizier was said to have been much impressed by England's success against Spain. (*Ib.*, No. 330, p. 147.) Meantime the Spanish annexations of Portugal had rendered Turkish trade more important to England in proportion as the latter's commerce was injured in other directions. Thus both economically and politically England and the Porte had interests in common, and this the Sultan so far acknowledged that in 1591 he promised to send a fleet of three hundred vessels against the coasts of Spain. (*Letters of Sultan to Elizabeth. Ven. St. P. Cal.*, No. 999.)

which related to his Majesty was expressed in wicked and scandalous language, and he further said that he was greatly pleased at the victory the Queen had won over the Spanish Armada, for which he gave great thanks to God the Father. And that he had there the said ninety thousand men, and others from his kingdom if she so wished, and money, and stores besides men to be used against the King of Spain; this as he has said being expressed in offensive language; and that all was in readiness to accomplish all that he there promised, when news was received from her. Which letter was dated in June of the year ninety or eighty-nine, he is not sure which, and was brought by an ambassador from Poland, who was the same who had come from Poland to England and taken the Queen's letter to Constantinople.[1] All which was contained in the said letter, and the rest was told to this confessant by the said John Norris, who said that he had heard it from the Earl of Cumberland to whom he was purveyor. And as this confessant judges this matter to be of importance he has given information of it, it appearing to him that the Queen of England might wish to avail herself of this assistance offered by the Turk, and thus work some harm to Spain, and especially if his Majesty is trusting in the peace, or in the Turk's friendship which would be a great deception, and thus the intercourse between the English and Constantinople is most serious. And it being late, this audience was brought to an end at the striking of the hour; (f. 34)

In Canary 14th Dec. 1593.

(Barthw. Cole) Said, that continuing that which he had commenced to relate in the audience of yesterday afternoon, respecting information which might be of importance to his Majesty's service, he declares that from all parts of the kingdom of England, and principally from London, Bristol, and Southamption, great quantities of merchandise are sent to Spain, chiefly to Seville. And that in order to ensure their safe dispatch they avail themselves of the assistance of various peoples such as Flemings, Germans, Scotch and Bretons[2] in the following manner; by sending the said merchandise to Hamburg in Germany, or to the town of Stade (Estod) also in Germany about six leagues from Hamburg, where

[1] A warrant was issued on October 10, 1590, to pay Thomas Wilcocks £200 for bringing letters from Turkey, Poland, and other parts. (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*)

[2] Appendix F.

a fleet goes every year for this purpose, composed of twenty, twenty-five and thirty ships loaded with various merchandise, such as London cloth, some white, others mixed, white kerseys and baizes, and also white says. And the Englishmen to whom this merchandise belongs have their factors in the said towns, both Englishmen and Flemings, who receive and distribute it among various towns both in Italy and Spain, and more usually Seville as far as this confessant knows. And the cloth and other white materials are dyed in these said towns, and are dispatched as Flemish goods, and in this way they are, and have been, dispatched since trade and commerce with England were prohibited, and since trade in English stuffs was prohibited. And this confessant understands that at this present day this continues, and the merchants in Spain, who are Flemings, receive these goods knowing as they do that they come from England, and correspond with Englishmen in London. And from other parts of Spain the said Flemish merchants dispatch such merchandise as the English usually get from Spain such as oils, wines from Xerez, raisins, almonds, and other things; and the said ships bring their cargoes sometimes to the said towns of Germany, and sometimes to London and other towns of England. And sometimes Englishmen seize the said Flemish ships at sea on the ground that they carry Spanish merchandise, and on arriving in England they find that the said merchandise belongs to Englishmen, or Flemish residents of London, both the one and the other being heretics from what this confessant knows and can judge of them. And this merchandise is given to them, and the Englishmen who took them at sea have their trouble for nothing, all of which is known to this confessant because he has heard of it in London, and discussed it very fully, especially with a certain rich English merchant residing in London, who is called Arthur Hussey? (Artor Jase), and with his servant for whom this confessant had great friendship. And the reason this confessant knows of this and treated of the matter so fully is that he was negotiating with the said merchant to form a company to trade with Seville[1] and the

[1] This does not sound a very likely project, even in that era of companies. The ground was already covered by the company of merchants trading to Spain and Portugal, which was very hard hit, not only by the war, but by their multitude of smuggler rivals. Where this company could not succeed, another was little likely to have a chance; an open organized trade could easily be suppressed, whereas trade by a multitude of individuals, any one of whom might be ruined without involving the others, was practically irrepressible. At the same time, trade to the Azores was sufficiently important to tempt

Terceira Isles, which are called the Azores; and the said company was not then formed, because this confessant was on the point of sailing for these islands when it was spoken of, and it was agreed that he should inquire into the means afforded by the islands, and the profit to be gained in them, and the quantities and species of merchandise which would be needed, which having done he should return to England where the said company would be formed; and this confessant would then go to reside in Seville to carry out the plan, as a person who, having been brought up in San Miguel, would be taken for a native of that place; but as he was arrested the matter fell through.

And as this confessant did not form his company at the time of which he speaks, he did not hear the names of the merchants of Seville and other towns of Spain, who carry on the said trade and commerce with the English in the manner referred to, but they may easily be discovered by the merchandise itself, because all the kerseys are English dyed in Flanders, where they are folded differently and a different stamp put on them, and the same is done with the says (anascotes), as very few come from Anascote (?) in Flanders, which is a small town. And no attention need be paid to the stamps as they are stamped in England with Anascote stamps, and the baize can also be known, and although these were formerly woven in Flanders, they are now woven in England by Flemings of whom there are great numbers residing in the different towns; and this baize is really made in England with wool of that country. And cloths and woollen stuffs can also be known, and the greater part of them also comes from England, from what this confessant gathers, and a large number of tapestries are also made in England by the said Flemings, and are sent to Spain in the same way, from what this confessant understands. And if this confessant had been as well advised, and had had the same motives then as he has now, he would know the names of the Flemish merchants residing in Spain, but as it was of no interest to him he did not trouble about it. And similar merchandise and

persons desirous of a monopoly. In 1584 a very large part of English trade with Portuguese possessions had been with the Azores; the staple of the exports thither was, as usual, cloth; the returns were in sugar and green woad. The trade to the islands, as elsewhere, was hampered by the war; yet in 1592 it was declared that "under the names of Scots and Frenchmen they (the English) have continuall trade there" (Purchas, *Pilgrims*, vol. XVIII, p. 362.); a circumstance which may have encouraged "Arthur Hussey" in his project.

other kinds are sent into Spain through St Malo, Roscoff and Morlaix in Brittany, as many English ships frequent these towns bringing cargoes of the said stuffs which they sell there; and the Bretons send them to Spain. And four or five years ago English merchants sent their merchandise direct to Spain, which this confessant knows because in the year '87 in the month of December, as he remembers, and in January of '88 this confessant was in Roscoff and Morlaix, when an English ship from Lyme (Lima) laden with merchandise, put in at Morlaix, three days later than this confessant, and was seen by him. Which ship was consigned to two English merchants residing there, the one named Louis Pope, (Pop) and the other Thomas Tupp (Tup) who arranged with John Calot, a merchant residing at Morlaix, an influential man, that the said English ship and her cargo should be dispatched to the Terceiras in his name, consigned to his nephew Francisco Lebier who lives there, but is a native of Morlaix. And having entered into this agreement the said Breton merchant put a certain quantity of French merchandise into the ship; and all the English sailors who had come in her were removed with the exception of three, being the pilot named Gregory Traill, (Tral) who spoke French, and who owned the largest share of the vessel, his son a boy of fourteen, and the carpenter, who also spoke French, whose name he cannot remember, and the rest of the crew were Frenchmen. And all being ready, the ship set sail for the Terceiras with this confessant on board, and he saw that the said Francisco Lebier received the merchandise, and the cargo was discharged and distributed, and the ship being loaded with woad, set sail; and this confessant knows that she went direct to Morlaix, and thence to a port of England, he does not know which. And the master of the said ship was Juan de Lila a French man, native of Morlaix, as this confessant remembers, but he cannot remember the names of the other Frenchmen.

And in the same year of which he previously spoke a French ship set sail from Roscoff, the surname of the captain and owner being Buena Ventura, but he cannot remember the names of the master and of the crew; which ship carried merchandise belonging to the said two Englishmen, but was dispatched in the name of the said Juan Calot, resident of Morlaix, to be consigned in the Terceiras to the said Francisco Lebier. And this confessant saw the ship arrive at Terceira; whence she was dispatched with her cargo to San Miguel after being two or three days in port; being dispatched by the said Francisco Lebier and a certain Baltasar Nuñez a Por-

tuguese, a resident of Lisbon, who was then in Terceira, and this confessant believes that he has returned to Lisbon. And this confessant understands that the chief to whom these ships were consigned was not the said Francisco Lebier, but Baltasar Nuñez, because the latter had been on very friendly terms in Terceira with Thomas, one of the two Englishmen of Morlaix, who was living in that place at the time trade with England was prohibited, for which reason he went to live at Morlaix. And thus although the said merchandise was addressed to the said Francisco Lebier to deceive people, this confessant understands that the chief person in this business was the said Baltasar Nuñez, which matter came to this confessant's knowledge while he was at Morlaix the year previously mentioned, when the said Thomas Tupp asked this confessant to write a letter to the said Baltasar Nuñez in which he mentioned that these ships were sailing from that place by order of the said Breton, Juan Calot, and asking him to lend all possible assistance in the matter, and he did not sign the letter with his own name but with another, telling confessant that Baltasar Nuñez would know the name. And as he remembers this confessant gave the letter to the said Baltasar Nuñez, who gave him to understand that he did not know who it was from, and confessant told him, and the said Baltasar Nuñez seemed disturbed to see that this confessant knew of what was passing between them. And the said French ship did in fact set sail for San Miguel with her cargo, and this confessant went in her and also a servant or nephew of the said Baltasar Nuñez, who discharged the cargo in San Miguel, and loaded the ship with woad and set sail for Morlaix, the ship being named the "Buena Ventura," after the captain. And the said Baltasar Nuñez held the office of collector of the customs in Terceira, in place of the chief collector, a resident of Lisbon, who this confessant believes was named Pedro Borges.

And this confessant being in the town of Morlaix, at the time he has declared during the December of '87 or the January of '88 as he remembers, he saw that a Breton ship put into that port, but he does not know the name of the master and cannot give a description of him. And the ship had come from San Lucar or from Cadiz with a cargo of wine, and the sailors of the said ship told this confessant, and also the pilot of his ship, an English vessel, that they were taking the wine direct to the port of Bristol in England, as it belonged to an Englishman residing there, and this

confessant saw that the ship set sail for England without discharging any part of her cargo. And it being late etc. . . .

(f. 37b)

14th Dec. 1593. . . . Said, that besides what he stated this morning concerning the trade surreptitiously carried on by Englishmen with the town of Morlaix in Brittany, this confessant knows that there is a resident of the said town named Jaques Caruen, who went to England because certain Englishmen residing at Lyme (Lima), Chard (Char) and Axminster (Axmester), desired him to take their goods and merchandise in his own name to the Islands of San Miguel and Fayal, although confessant cannot say whether he was summoned by these Englishmen or volunteered his services for this purpose. But this confessant is quite certain that the said Jaques Caruen goes to the said islands taking the aforesaid merchandise from England, and bringing return cargoes of the merchandise of those islands, and this confessant knows this, because during the carnival of the year ninety, he left San Miguel for England, and five or six days before he left that port the said Jaques Caruen arrived there in an English ship with another in company. And in the latter there came Hugh Webb, which means Hugo, who had lived in Morlaix, and saying that he was a resident of that town, he passed as a Frenchman, and both declared that they were partners and owners of the vessels, and consequently did business together. And leaving them there this confessant set sail for the port of Poole (Pola) in England, and about twenty days later proceeding to London he met the said Jaques Caruen, the Breton, in Lyme, who told this confessant when they were conversing together, that he wished to return to the Islands of San Miguel and Fayal, and upon confessant inquiring how he did business and was ready to return so quickly he replied: " These gentlemen fit a ship while I am away and have a cargo ready for me, so that I may return at once "; meaning the Englishmen who owned the vessels and said merchandise; such names as he remembers being, Richard Spragg,[1] (Esprac) John Day (Dey), Edward Mundy (Munde), and Thomas Simons residents of Chard; John and Richard

[1] Spragg and Munday both appear to have been Chard names, though we have not been able to identify the individuals. (See *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 36–7; Emanuel Green, *The Manor of Chard.*) The activity of these little west country ports in sixteenth century trade is notorious. Traces of Lyme's trade both with Brittany and the Azores appears in the *Domestic State Papers, Eliz.*, vol. 233, No. 39; *ib. Calendar*, 1590, p. 647, No. 65.

Tucker, (Tucur) and a certain man surnamed Bragg, (Brac) residents of Axminster, and several others residents of Lyme, whose names he does not know. And confessant heard later that the said Jaques Caruen, the Breton, had made the said voyage to San Miguel, and returned to England; and lately when this confessant left the port of Plymouth for this island of Teneriffe, which was in January ninety-one, the said Jaques Caruen was about to set sail for the third time from Lyme in England for San Miguel and Fayal, as so confessant was told. And he further heard from various people that when confessant set sail from Plymouth for Teneriffe the said Jaques Caruen set sail from Lyme, from which time he has heard no more of him. And this confessant saw that the crew who accompanied the said Jaques Caruen in the first two ships were English, some of whom spoke French well, and all declared themselves to be Frenchmen, and all were heretics of the protestant religion of England; which confessant knows, because having set sail for England on the Monday before the carnival in the year ninety, he was driven by contrary winds into the port of the island of San Miguel on Ash Wednesday. And the ships of Jaques Caruen being in port, men from his partner's ship sent a boat to this confessant's ship, which was bound to England to save him from launching his boat. And this confessant and Paul White, (Blanco) a merchant who was on board, and the master, who were all Englishmen, went in the boat to the aforesaid vessel, in which were the master and the crew, and they all supped together, eating two boiled fowls which had been left over the day before in this confessant's ship, and also some boiled beef provided in the English ship, and all eat of it without scruple, as persons professing the religion of England.

And he further declares that in the year eighty, or eighty one, all heretics being ordered to quit Brittany, among those who left Morlaix for Exeter[1] in England was a certain Duguel, a very rich man resident of Morlaix, who took with him his three sons and as much of his property as he could; and he lived in Exeter until about the year eighty-six, when he died there as a heretic. And his two sons remained there, one grown to manhood, a heretic of the same sect, as far as this confessant knows, and the other a boy. And while they were still living in that place after their

[1] It is noteworthy in this connexion to observe that when it was arranged to remove the Breton trade to the Channel Islands, the Exeter merchants were said to persist in trading to Morlaix. (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 11.)

father's death, about the year eighty-seven, a certain Englishman named Thomas Alder[1] a resident of Bristol suggested to this man that as a Frenchman he should take a ship with his merchandise to the Island of San Miguel, and thus the said son of the aforesaid Frenchman, whose name is Jean Duguel, went to the Island of San Miguel with the said ship and discharged the cargo and returned with woad to Bristol. All of which this confessant learnt from the said Jean Duguel himself, and from a nephew of the said Thomas Alder in his service; and this confessant afterwards learnt that the said Jean Duguel shortly after his return from San Miguel had left England and had gone to live in his own town of Morlaix, which confessant has heard from many Englishmen, and from certain Frenchmen of his acquaintance. And he is convinced that he lives there, and confessant does not know among these same Englishmen any one more faithful in the observance of the religion of England than this man was.

And this confessant further knows that about the year eighty-seven a resident of St Malo, Reynaldo Potior by name, went to the town of Lyme in England, where he arranged to take an English vessel to San Miguel with merchandise and money, all of which was the property of a very rich Englishman resident of Chard, named William Simons; and saying he was a Frenchman he was to pretend the merchandise came from St Malo. And he did in fact make the voyage, discharge his cargo and return with a cargo of woad to Lyme. And this confessant learnt this from one John Tucker, servant of the said William Simons, owner of the merchandise who sailed in the said vessel to San Miguel, though he did not land; and this confessant afterwards learnt that the said Breton Reynaldo Potior had returned to St Malo and understands that he lives there.

And in the said town of St Malo there lives at present a man named Colim, whom confessant thinks is called either Richard or John; and this confessant heard in England from different English merchants that during the years eighty-six and eighty-seven, this man made several voyages to San Lucar or to Cadiz, he cannot say how many, and one to San Miguel, which he did upon the understanding that he was a native of St Malo, whither he was taking

[1] A Thomas Alder was warden of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol in 1566 (Latimer, *Merchant Adventurers of Bristol*, pp. 46–7); and a certain Robert Alder was among the Bristol merchants sending provisions to Spain in 1587. (*Dom. St. P. Add. Cal.*, p. 232, No. 62.)

the merchandise, and to which place the ship belonged; which was false as the merchandise was the property of an Englishman residing in Bristol, named Kitchens[1] (Quichinques), a very rich and influential man, who gave them to him that he might trade in this way. And this confessant has heard in England that he discharged the cargoes in the said places, and brought returned cargoes to whatever place the said Englishman told him.

And that in the Islands of Palma and Teneriffe two ships were seized by Don Luis de la Cueua, governor of these islands, and the ship seized in Teneriffe was " La Margarita," owned by a merchant named Carlos Correa, a resident of Morlaix in Brittany, and the one seized in La Palma was the " San Juan "; but confessant does not know the name of the merchant who owned it nor of the master. And the vessels carried a quantity of sardines,[2] which this confessant knows came from England, as they are a well known product of England, but of nowhere else; and the master of the vessel owned by Carlos Correa, and the latter himself, told confessant that the sardines they carried were brought from Plymouth, in England, to Roscoff and were put on board in that place; and that they also carried blue kerseys from England. For which reason, and because this confessant had conversed in Teneriffe with the master or merchant of the said vessel the " San Juan " seized in La Palma, whose name he does not know, and noticed that he spoke English as well as confessant himself, he suspects, and he suspected at the time, that the said men had brought English merchandise to these islands, because the inhabitants of St Malo and Roscoff have great trade with England, their ships going openly to England, and English ships coming there.

And it being very late; etc. . . . (f. 41)

In Canary 15th day of the month of December. . . .

[1] Robert Kitchens of Bristol was for long an alderman of the town. He was among those whose goods were embargoed in Spain in 1586. His property in the country does not, however, seem to have been great, as the total value of his goods seized in Seville, Xeres and San Lucar amounts only to £62 6s. 3d. (*Dom. St. P., Eliz.*, vol. 191, No. 34.)

[2] Probably " sardines " should be " pilchards." The latter were a very common article of export from the southern coast of England; so much so that about 1594 an extra tax was laid on their export from Plymouth to provide funds for the fortification of the town. (N. Worth, *Plymouth Municipal Records*, p. 2.) The cases of pilchards brought from England to Spain are numerous. In 1592 various Dutch and German vessels are mentioned as loading wheat and pilchards, nominally for Italy, but really for Spain (*Dom. St. P., Eliz.*, vol. 243, No. 57), and there are other similar instances.

And as this confessant has already stated, the said Englishmen hold commerce and trade with Spain and these islands by means of the Scotch; the merchandise and ships being dispatched in the name of Scotchmen, whereas in great part they really and truly belong to Englishmen, who send them through Scotchmen because this trade is forbidden them, and is not forbidden to the Scotch. And this confessant remembers particularly that in the years '87, '88, and '89, being in the Island of San Miguel, he saw that William Scott (Escot), native and resident of Scotland, came there two or three times and brought merchandise in a Scotch vessel of which he was owner, and on the last occasion he came with two vessels his own and an English ship which he had brought in London, and the crew was composed of Scotch and English sailors, although all of them were supposed to be Scotch, and this confessant knew that the cargoes of these ships belonged to Englishmen residing in London; . . .

And in the years '89 and '90 George Fausset (Faused) a native and resident of Scotland came to the said island of San Miguel three times bringing merchandise the property of Richard Doderich[1] an Englishman residing at Barnstaple in England, and mayor of that town, and of other Englishmen of the same town, sailing always from the said town of Barnstaple with the said merchandise, and taking return cargoes from San Miguel to the aforesaid port, and to that of Bristol; . . .

And in the years '87 and '88 this confessant being in San Miguel saw Archibald Dawson (Dasan) a Scotchman twice put into that place bringing cargoes of stuffs and merchandise property of the said George Colmore[2] (Columor) resident of London, and of other Englishmen of the same town; and he discharged the said merchandise in San Miguel and Terceira consigning it to Juan Renquin (John Rankin)[3] a resident of San Miguel; . . .

[1] "Doderich" is presumably Richard Doddridge, who was Mayor of Barnstaple in 1589. He was an enterprising and fortunate merchant. His ship the "Prudence" sailed over the bar of Barnstaple on a "reprisal voyage" in 1590 and seized a great prize of gold off Guinea. (J. B. Gribble, *Memorials of Barnstaple*, p. 438.) That the merchants of the smaller western ports should have employed Scotch vessels and captains shows the universality of the practice.

[2] This merchant may perhaps be the same as George Collymoore, merchant, who is mentioned in the *Hatfield Papers* as having to answer an accusation brought by the Scotch Ambassador in regard to a ship called the "Christopher," of Kirkcaldy. (*Hatfield MSS.*, vol. IV, p. 85.)

[3] This person was probably the same as a certain Rynkyn, an English merchant

And besides that which he has already stated; in the month of April, or May, of the year '91, the aforesaid ship, property of Archibald Dawson, put in to Santa Cruz of Teneriffe, the captain being Nicholas Rankin, brother to the aforesaid John Rankin, of English nationality, native of Bristol, servant of the said George Colmore, resident of London. And he came to the said island from San Miguel, loaded with certain merchandise the property of Pedro de Vchales and other residents of San Miguel, which confessant was told by the said Nicholas Rankin. And Don Luis de la Cueua, governor of these islands, seized the said ship and her cargo, upon the charge that there were Englishmen on board passing as Scotchmen, and although the said Don Luis took proceedings against the said Nicholas Rankin, no evidence was forthcoming that he was English and not Scotch, and thus although his ship and property were seized, he was set at liberty and went off.

And besides those ships which this confessant has mentioned as coming to the Island of San Miguel claiming to be Scotch, whereas they were from England, and their cargo also, others have put in there as well, although he cannot remember details of them; and confessant knows that the said Scotch ships also go to Spain under the same pretence; . . . and he knows that the said Scotch carry passports from the King of Scotland; . . . and confessant cannot say whether these are forged or not, but he thinks that they may be, because any stamps[1] needed can without difficulty be made in England, and this confessant has made a certain number with which he stamped the stuffs and merchandise he brought with him; and he knows that the merchants who trade in this way with Spain have French, Scotch, and Flemish stamps, with which they stamp their merchandise. And therefore no importance need be attached to the said passports, because even though they may really have been given by the King of Scotland, they are so easily obtained that they would be given for any bribe, and in any case the merchandise is not what it is stated to be.

And besides these frauds there is still another, which is that

of Madeira, who was taken prisoner and sent to Madrid (*Lansd.MSS.*, 76, No. 1), and who may be identified with a certain John Rankin who was convicted of espionage in Spain and condemned to torture and the galleys. John Rankin is first mentioned as a prisoner in 1594 and his sentence was passed in 1596. (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 613, No. 624, and p. 643, No. 662.)

[1] A certain John Clark was arrested in England for forging the Scotch seal and released. Possibly the authorities thought the forgery good service. (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 348.)

the same English vessels with an English crew and cargo come to the Abajo Islands and trade there freely under the cloak of Scotchmen from Scotland; . . .

And he remembers that Thomas Stevens, an Englishman, resident of London came in this way to the Island of San Miguel twice; . . . bringing merchandise from London, the property of the said Colmore and his partners, which merchandise he delivered to the said John Rankin and returned to London with a cargo of woad. And this confessant being in England learnt that the said Thomas Stevens had made other voyages to the Islands of San Miguel and to most of the Terceira Isles.

And in the month of August of the year '90, this confessant being in the town of Plymouth, in England, learnt that a vessel set sail from that port at that time, which ship was owned by a brother of the said John Rankin, who lives in Plymouth, and carried a cargo of merchandise the property of George Colmore and his partners; and the ship went to Fayal in the Terceras, claiming to be Scotch; . . .

(f. 44b)

. . . Said that this confessant has said many things against a certain John Rankin, or Juan Juanes, who resides in San Miguel and frequents most of the Terceira Islands, which this confessant has done on account of the numerous English vessels with their cargoes which have come to him under various disguises; and although confessant has stated that his brothers are English as yet he has said nothing touching the man himself, who in many parts of Spain, in the Terceira Islands, and principally in Lisbon, is taken to be Scotch whereas he is an Englishman, native of Bristol, son of a barber and surgeon of that town, and has resided in London. And in the year '86 or '87 he came from London to San Miguel, and he is greatly favoured by many influential men in Portugal, who thus favour him because they believe him to be Scotch. And he has been arrested two or three times and his property sequestrated on the ground that he was an Englishman, and the merchandise sent to him also English, but he was set at liberty and favour shown him upon producing certain papers given him in Scotland stating him to be Scotch, whether they were real or forged confessant cannot say; but he knows for certain that the matter they contained was false, because he is in reality an Englishman, as previously stated, and a servant and factor in the employ of Englishmen; . . .

And in the year '89, besides those already mentioned confessant

remembers that another English ship put in to San Miguel, having on board an English merchant named John Alder, native of London, and resident of Bristol, who brought a quantity of merchandise the property of his uncle Thomas Alder, previously referred to, and the said John Alder is there known as John Anderson; . . .

And in the same way a great number of English ships under pretence of being French have been, and confessant understands that they still go, to the Islands of San Miguel and Fayal, and do an extensive trade in English merchandise taking return cargoes of woad to England, and these ships were so numerous during the time confessant was in those islands, that he cannot estimate the number.

And confessant suspects that this trade carried on by the English is well known to many people, who conceal it, and he knows in particular that it is well known to Pedro de Uchales, an Englishman residing in San Miguel, in whose house confessant lived for seven or eight years until confessant left that island this last time. And this man is rich and much esteemed by Englishmen, and he knows of the trade carried on by them, both by sending their merchandise under pretence that it is Scotch, or coming themselves under the name of Scotch or Frenchmen. And confessant knows this, because having lived so long in his house he saw all, or the greater number, of the persons whom he has named, both English and Scotch, come to the house under assumed names; and the aforesaid received some of the merchandise and kept up a correspondence with Englishmen in different parts of England, they writing to him and he answering them, and some of the letters were written by this confessant as the aforesaid writes very badly, because having lived so long in that place, he has forgotten how to write in English. . . .

And in Fayal, one of the Azores, there lives an Englishman, John Ebury (Ybere) native of Chard who is married to a Portuguese, and who carries on trade with England, which confessant has heard from various sources both in San Miguel and in England. And being in Topsham (Toposaneto) in England confessant met Joseph Ebury, his brother, who told him that he had recently returned from Fayal, where he lived with his brother, and that he was on his way to another port to sell the woad he had brought with him, and to arrange to return; and confessant was told by certain English residents of Chard, that they sent merchandise to the said John Ebury to the said island of Fayal, and that the men who took it there were Englishmen passing as Frenchmen.

And in this same island of Fayal there lives a Portuguese named Francisco Hernandez, as far as he remembers, who also trades with England, receiving English merchandise, and himself going to England; . . .

Asked if this confessant knows whether the Englishmen mentioned are in the habit of going to Spain or Portugal, passing as Frenchmen, or natives of some other country.

Said, that he has never heard so, but on the contrary understands that they do not go to either of these countries, for fear that greater precautions being taken there, they might be discovered.

And in the town of Lisbon, this confessant knows that there lives a Portuguese named Bernardo Luis,[1] a rich and very well known man, who is in partnership with a Peter Freire, who confessant understands is his brother, also a resident of Lisbon; both of whom have held extensive trade with England. And in particular confessant knows, that during the years '86 and '87 the aforesaid made two or three voyages from London to Lisbon with a large ship named the "Red Lion," carrying a quantity of merchandise, a great part of which was the property of George Colmore, previously referred to, and the rest belonging to other English merchants of London.

And this confessant knows this, because he has heard the said George Colmore say that the said English ship with an English crew entered the said port publicly, and flying the English flag; because the Marquis of Sancta Cruz had given her licence to trade; and he also said that on occasion of the last voyage, which he thinks was in '87, the master, an Englishman, had brought the ship and crew back to England, fearing that they would be arrested, because the

[1] Bernardo or Bernaldo Luis was a Portuguese merchant, resident both in London and Lisbon. He was also one of Burleigh's informants, and was said to be an excellent writer of "advertisements," i.e., news. (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 240, No. 4.) He was the brother-in-law of Dr Hector Nũnez, who was related to the family of Anes, who were involved in the Anglo-Spanish intrigues of the period. Luis like Nũnez used his trade to cloak his correspondence, or possibly he may have considered political spy work an enlivening and profitable incident of trade. In 1587 he, being then in Madrid, received a vessel with cloth worth 70,000 ducats, which was promptly embargoed as English, but he was presently allowed to have the cargo (which had really been sent by Richard May and other English merchants); and it was reported that he continued to trade with a Portuguese correspondent in England. (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 222, No. 229.) Unlike many spies of the time, Luis does not appear to have acted on both sides; at the time of Cole's confession he had already been once arrested by the Spanish Government in 1588 on suspicion, and after this little is heard of him.

Marquis of Sancta Cruz had died. And that the said Bernardo Luis had remained in Lisbon, and had held no further intercourse with these Englishmen, and had kept the merchandise he had taken over on the last voyage, of which there was a large quantity, and of which the greater part belonged to the said George Colmore, who complained bitterly of this.

And it is also publicly known in England that ships go from Ireland[1] to all parts of Spain publicly and trade there, especially with San Lucar, Cadiz and Biscay, although it is a country which is subject to the Queen of England, the bishops, president, courts, governors and garrisons being English, and the country peopled by Englishmen. And this is all he knows concerning Ireland. And during the year '90 an Irish ship being on her way from Spain, he believes from San Lucar, met with an English ship and was taken, and upon searching the Irish ship certain letters were found, confessant cannot say whence they came or from whom, nor was it stated in England; but because of these letters the ship was taken to Plymouth, and the letters and the bearer of them were taken to London. And after the letters were seen, order was sent summoning Sir John Perrot president of Ireland to the Court, and five or six days after his coming he was arrested, and it was publicly stated in London that he was imprisoned because it was discovered from the said letters that the said John Perrot wished to give entrance to the Spaniards into Ireland, or into England, confessant cannot remember which. And it was said that although the letters were shown him, he denied it. And at the same time an Irish or English priest was arrested, whom the said Perrot had with him in Ireland; who confessed that he had been confessor and chaplain to Sir John Perrot for five or six years, and that what the letters contained was true. And about this time this confessant came to Teneriffe, this last voyage, and after he was imprisoned in the cells of this Holy Office he heard from one of his prison companions, either from Robert Estrefi,? an Englishman, or from Hugh another Englishman, imprisoned at the time, that the said Sir John had been condemned to be hanged, and that the sentence had been carried into execution.[2] And this is what he knows touching Ireland. . . . But

[1] Appendix G.

[2] It will be remembered that Sir John Perrot died in the Tower, September, 1592, before sentence on him was executed. One of the chief witnesses against him was the ex-priest, Denis Roughlan, whom Perrot had prosecuted for forgery. This man asserted that he was the bearer of a letter from Perrot to King Philip.

he now remembers that besides those he has mentioned this confessant heard whilst in England that an English ship went to the Island of San Miguel, claiming to be French, in the year '89, the merchant in charge being John Jordan, an Englishman, who passed there under the French name of Jean Hordal; and on the outward journey she met with a Portuguese caravel, which was taken and sent to England, and the English ship continued her voyage to San Miguel, where she discharged her cargo, and brought a return cargo of woad to England.

And in January of '90 this confessant being on board an English ship, of which the master was Thomas Simons, who had come to the Island claiming to be French, he learnt that the said ship being caught by a storm in the port of San Miguel, put out to sea till the storm was over. And during this time she met with a ship bound from the Indies, he does not know from what town, which was captured and sent to England; and the storm having ceased the English ship returned to the port of San Miguel and finished taking in her cargo. And this confessant embarked in the ship, and after being six or seven days at sea, some of the crew told him what had happened, and he saw a sword belonging to one of the Spaniards whom they had taken, and a silver cup which the master had given to Paul White a merchant on board, who is an Englishman, resident of Southampton, who had come to San Miguel, passing as a Frenchman. (f. 50b)

In Canary 20th of December 1593. . . . And he also remembers to have seen George Fausset, of whom he has spoken, at church in Barnstaple, and this confessant believes him to be a heretic like the rest of whom he has spoken. And as to what this confessant intended doing if his Majesty had put faith in his promises, he wishes to say that he thought of volunteering to go to England to fetch iron artillery such as is there made, and cables, cordage and other stores of which there might be a shortage in Spain. And he further thought of offering to give information of anything that might be happening in England; but this confessant was not then acting in good faith, but was merely anxious to obtain freedom for himself and his men, and without doubt once back in England he would never have kept any of his promises; and if he had returned with any of the stores referred to, he would have brought such things as would have caused more harm than good, and when required they would be lacking, which might have worked great harm

to the king. And as to giving information he would never have given any that might bring good to Spain and harm to England, in fact he would have lied because he intended to deceive; and he can remember nothing further; etc.

Then falling on his knees, and clasping his hands he said that he craved forgiveness for all that which he had done to offend God and his Majesty;[1] . . . (f. 51b)

24th of January 1594.

Your Eminence having commanded us by a letter dated 9th November 1592 to send to Seville Bartholomew Cole, an Englishman, prisoner in the secret cells of this Holy Office; we replied by two letters of the 9th March and 29th October of last year, '93; in which we gave your Eminence a lengthy report of this case. After which it being definitely concluded and about to be decided, the prisoner asked for an audience and with great proof of good faith declared that he had written certain letters to Licentiate Aldaya, judge of Grenada, with whom he had been on terms of friendship when he was president of this court. In which letters he begged with great earnestness that order might be given for him to be sent to Spain, because he had matters of the deepest importance to communicate to his Majesty, and because of other matters in which he could be of personal service to the king which would be of great profit to the whole Kingdom. Urging the matter on him with great earnestness, so that in any case he might be taken to Spain. And that although at this time he was not acting in good faith, but on the contrary intended to deceive his Majesty and do all the harm he could in any matter confided to him, because he was then a heretic of the sect of Calvin, now that he was converted to our holy Catholic faith, and was undeceived of the errors

[1] Cole appeared in the eleventh public *auto-de-fé*, celebrated on December 21, 1597. This was the last public auto in the islands, and the last in which Englishmen took part. There were fifty-one culprits to be penanced and reconciled. Among the latter were the following Englishmen: Bartholomew Cole, eight years' imprisonment, and absolute prohibition to return to sea; William Roger, confiscation of property and prohibition to return to his own or any other heretic land; John Boniface, six years' reclusion in Seville, presumably in a monastery; Francis Lewis, four years' imprisonment; Matthew Jeffrey (Xifre); Constantine Colling; and Robert Estreig (?), two years' reclusion in a monastery at Seville; Richard Percy, (Serzi?), three years' imprisonment; William Rider and John Japhton, two years' reclusion; and William Sebastian, two years' imprisonment. (*Millares, op. cit.*, Book v, p. 134.)

he had held, desiring only to save his soul, he desired to declare with a Catholic heart many things which he knew would be of service to his Majesty, and profitable to the realm, as delay might be dangerous. And thus with the greatest clearness and precision he gave a detailed report of the matters referred to, until he declared that he could remember nothing further. We send your Eminence with this letter a report of all the audiences we held with him, so that, having considered the matter, you may give such orders as you think fit. We understand that many of the things stated by this prisoner respecting the deceptions used by the English in order to carry on their trade, and learn what is happening, can be substantiated in these islands, the latter being much frequented by Flemish, German, Scotch, French and Breton ships, being of those nations named by him as aiding in these subterfuges, a certain proof being that the merchandise they carry is well known to be English; not to mention other strong grounds for suspicion.

Bartholomew Cole having made these statements the motive for sending him ceases, and thus until we receive further orders from your eminence we will not send him, especially as his process has reached the stage at which he may be received to reconciliation in a public *auto-de-fé*, which will not take place for many days, because of the pressure of business which must be first attended to. Your Eminence will dispose as you think fit, and we beseech you to inform us with despatch of the decision come to respecting the goods, which this offender brought to the island, which were sequestrated by Don Luis de la Cueua, governor of these islands.* . . .

[1] Cole's name appears, however, among the "poor" prisoners who were maintained by the Inquisition. Among the items in his account are 222 maravedis for medicine, 624 maravedis for a hat which the Inquisitors had ordered him to be provided with, and 579 maravedis for stores given him when he was sent to Spain. He left the prison on December 22, 1597. (*Birch*, vol. I, p. 367.)

Doctor Claudio de la Cueua.

II. SPANISH TEXT.[1]

Vol. XII. 1st Series.

El Fiscal q[a] Huer yngles estante en Thenerife.
Denunçiacion.
Informaçion.
Calificaçion.
Votos.
Aucto de prision.
Mandam[o].
Monitiones 1, 2, 3.
Acusacion.
Aprueua.
Ratificados testigos.
Dada publicaçion.
Communicada.
Concluso.

4 Processo deste libro.

la sentencia de relaxacion deste reo con los demas authos y execucion estan adelante en el processo de Richarte Niuman. (f. 163)

En la çiudad de sant Christoual que es en esta ysla de Thenerife en çinco dias del mes de agosto de mill e quis[o] y ochenta y seis años ant, el muy R[do] S[or] fray Diego de Çamora Comissario del s[to]. officio etc.; paresçio el licen[do]. Diego de Arguijo alguazil mayor del s[to] officio etc.;

Dixo que estando algunas personas los dias pasados tratando de dos yngleses q̃ estan en esta çiudad q̃ fueron tomados en vna destas yslas en tierra q̃ venian en vna nao de cosarios que el vno dellos esta en seruiçio de los frayles de sancto domingo y el otro yngles en seruiçio del gouernador desta dicha ysla dezian por cosa notoria q̃ ambos yngleses visitauan y dauan de comer a vn yngles q̃ esta preso en la carçel publica desta çiudad q̃ fue traydo de las partes de . . . exe q̃ lo hallaron en tierra q̃ lo auia dexado alli vna nao de cosarios y que deuian ser todos amigos y ladrones y luteranos y q̃ era mal echo tenerlos fuera de la carcel, y particularm[te] etc, por cosa notoria dezian que el yngles que esta con los frayles de sancto domingo no entra en la yglesia; etc. (f. 168)

[1] Containing the original texts (in Spanish) of the selected Processes of the Inquisition in the Canaries translated in the preceding pages.

t° 1.

E despues de lo suso dho. en treze dias del dho. mes de Agosto, etc.; parescio fray Gaspar Cordero prior del Conuento de s^to^ Domingo; etc. . . .

Preguntado si a oydo dezir a el dho. Juan yngles que quiere ser Christiano, y guardar la ley de los Catholicos.

Dixo que este t° a oydo dezir a el dho. Juan yngles que quiere ser Christiano etc.

Preguntado si a visto que el dho. Juan yngles no prosiguio a saber lo que le aconsejaua etc.

Dixo que es berdad q̃ este testigo no le a uisto oyr misa ni inclinar a mostrar que la quiere oyr y que siempre se mete ẽ la cozina y se ocupa en otros officios della y que por estas señales esteriores le paresçe a este testigo que no tiene buen conçeto del dho. Juan yngles que guardara la ley catholica pero que no le a oydo cosa q̃ sea contra nr̃a s^ta^ fee catholica.

Preguntado si sabe que el dho. Juan yngles comunica con otro yngles que se dize Thomas q̃ sirue a el gouernador desta ysla y si sabe que a embiado de comer de lo que trae entre manos ẽ la cozina a otro yngles que esta preso en la carçel enbiandoselo con el dho. Thomas yngles.

Dixo que este t° sabe y a bisto que el dho. Juan yngles habla y comunica en su lengua con el dho. Thomas yngles muchas vezes pero q̃ no los entiende su lengua y que vna vez fue auisado este testigo de vn frayle que no se acuerda quien es que el dho. Juan yngles lleuo vna olleta de comida a el dicho yngles que esta preso y que este testigo le riño a el dho. Ju° yngles porque auia lleuado de comer a el dho. yngles que esta preso y el dicho Juan yngles respondio q̃ le auia lleuado su pitança y este testigo le riño y mando q̃ no le lleuase a el dicho yngles preso ni su pitança ni otra ninguna porque era luterano y no auia de tratar con el etc. (f. 169)

t° 2.

E despues de lo suso dicho en este dicho dia etc., parescio fray Alonso Binol religioso de la orden de S^to^ domingo, etc.

Preguntado si le bido a el dicho Juan yngles tratar y comunicar con vn yngles que se dize Thomas etc.

Dixo que este t° bido muchas bezes que el dho. Juan yngles hurtaua lo q̃. auia y podia hurtar ẽ la cozina y lo daua al dho. Thomas yngles pero que no sabe si lo lleuaua a el yngles que esta preso etc; (f. 171)

En Canaria siete dias del mes de Agosto de mill y quis' y ochenta y seis años estando el señor Inq^or licen^do Fran^co Madaleno ẽ su audiencia de la mañana mando traer a ella de las carçeles a vn hombre etc.; Preg^do dize llamarse.

Juan Esmit natural de Bristol en Yngalaterra etc.

Este reo fue preso por informaçion q̃ contra el ouo de auer dicho q̃ mejor era q̃ los frayles se casasen q̃ no andar oy con vna muger y mañana con otra en las primeras audiençias q̃ con el se tuuieron confeso descender de padres christianos viejos y que viuieron ẽ la religion antigua q̃ se enseñaua y predicaua en Yngalaterra antes q̃ esta Reyna reyna y que el a viuido en la obseruançia de la nueua religion; etc. (f. 184)

En Canaria ocho dias del mes de agosto etc.; estando el señor Inq^or licen^do Fran^co Madaleno ẽ su audiencia de la mañana mando traer a ella de las carçeles a el dho. Juan Esmit y siendo pres^te. Giles Grifon interprete etc.;

Dixo que este sanctiago hizo vn año que se embarco en yngalaterra en el puerto de Antona en vn nauio llamado la prima Rosa q̃ era Capitan Alexandre Hale cargado con matalotaje solamente e yuan para tierra noua a pescar y junto a el cabo de Sant Viçente salieron a ellos dos nauios de françeses de quatro q̃ auia de compañia y abordaron con el nauio donde yua este confesante y lo tomaron a fuerça de armas y mataron dos hombres y tomaron todo el matalotaje y pescado q̃ lleuaron y les quitaron el nauio y les dieron vna carauela pequeña de hasta veinte toneladas en que se metieron sin matalotaje y como no lleuauan comida venian alli algunos conoscidos de Jofre Lopes yngles vz^o de Thenerife y determinaronse de venirse alli y llegando çerca de la ysla de Lançarote entre la dicha ysla y la de fuerteventura salio otro nauio grande de françeses con su pataxe y abordaron con la carauela do este confesante y los demas yuan y mataron a el capitan y a otros dos compañeros y tomaron lo que les paresçio mejor y la g^te echaron en tierra de Fuerteventura y la carauela la largaron y dio a la costa y se perdio y que en Fuerteventura saltaron diez y siete con este confesante en tierra y el vno dellos q̃ se llamaua Christoual q̃ no sabe su sobre-nombre se quedo con el señor de Fuerteventura el qual en diuersas bezes imbio aqui en barcas a los demas q̃ eran diez y seis y que ahora estan en esta çiudad dellos.

1. Juan Gold que es casado en Yngalaterra y esta ahora con P. de Serpa.

2. Guillermo Baquer que esta con Pedro de Medina.
3. Melchior Diuelem que esta en el campo de Arucas.
4. Eduardo Estried, y.
5. Miguel q̃ no sabe el sobre nombre estan haziendo poluora ẽ 'l campo.
6. Guillermo Huer que esta con el Canonigo Maldonado.
7. Thomas Simes y.
8. Guillermo Huinter estan en Thenerife y q̃ de aqui partieron carauela de portugueses q̃ auia traydo nuezes y lienços y lleuo los dhos. dos a Fuerteventura y no sabe si lleuo alguno dellos alla o los llevo ambos a Thenerife y que vn frayle de sancto domingo lleuo otro yngles a Thenerife sobrino del otro yngles q̃ esta en casa del canonigo Maldonado q̃ se llama Juan Huer y que otro se murio en esta çiudad en el Hospital que era lombardero; etc.

(f. 184b)

En Canaria a dies y nueue dias del mes de septiembre, etc.; estando el señor inq^or, etc.; en su audiencia de la tarde mando traer a ella vn hombre etc.; y dixo lo siguiente.

Preguntado dixo que se llama Juan Gold natural de Antona en Yngalaterra y qué es de hedad de treinta y siete años y que es pescador y que oy uino preso y declaro su genealogia ẽ la manera siguiente:

Este rreo fue preso por informacion que contra el uvo de que siendo preseptos de la rreina de Ingalaterra en guarda de la nueva rreligion de que dos ueses cada dia por horden del preste nombrado para este efeto se hase oraçion a dios ẽ la forma que ellos la hasen y que los miercoles ni uiernes ni sabado no se coma carne este rreo por guarda del dho. mandato y del presepto de la nueua rreligion todo el tiempo que duro la nauegacion que ultimamente hiso que seria mas de un mes hasta el dia que le echaron en Fuerteventura hasiendo off^o de preste el maestre del nauio y llamandolos dos ueses cada dia con un siluo de plata el auia acudido y hincadose de rrodillas junto a el preste el con los demas auia hecho la dha. oracion rrespondiendo a lo que el preste leya en un libro de lengua ynglesa y asi mesmo que todos los miercoles y uiernes y sabados del dho. mes auia dexado de comer carne por guarda del presepto de la rreligion nueua y por informacion que contra el uvo de que en todas las muestras exteriores guardava la nueua rreligion el qual en sus conficiones confeso que era bautisado y le auian bautisado en tienpo que en Yngalaterra se guardaua la fee catolica la qual sus padres hasta oy guardauan y que en

su niñez auia oido misas en yngalaterra y que ẽ la crehençia de la rreligion antigua auia biuido hasto agora quatro años que a persuaçiones del preste de la rreligion nueua auia crehido en ella y se auia confesado y comulgado tres ueses por mano del preste en estos quatro años y que ẽ la confiçion no le auia hecho absoluçion syno que luego se llegaua a la Comunion syn auer le dado penitençia ninguna y que el preste le auia comulgado con un blanco y que quando comulgo auia entendido que en aquello que le davan estaua Jhesu Xpo. como esta ẽ 'l cielo y creyo que por haser aquella confiçion y comunion auia de ganar el çielo y se le auia de perdonar sus pecados no obstante que sabia que aquello era contraria a la rreligion antigua y a la fee catolica y que ansi mesmo auia ydo a las pedricas pero que agora se rredusia a lo antiguo y queria morir en guarda de la fee catolica y que por lo hecho se le diese penitencia etc.; (f. 187)

En Canaria primero dia del mes de Otubre etc.; estando el señor ynq^or^ etc.; en su audiençia de la tarde mando traer a ella de las carçeres vn hombre, etc.;

Preguntado dixo que se llama Guillermo Uaquer y qué es natural de Antona en Yngalaterra etc.;

Este rreo fue preso porque siendo preseptos de la nueva rreligion; etc. (f. 189)

En Canaria dies y seis dias del mes de Otubre etc.; estando el señor ynq^or^ etc., mando traer a ella de las carseles un hombre etc.;

Dixo que se llama Miguel Chemes natural de Cornual ẽ Yngalaterra; etc.

. . . y que veinte ueses avia ydo a las yglesias en Yngalaterra a rresar las oraciones que sabia donde estaua el preste hasiendo el serues y que para ello se ponia ẽ un lugar alto el rrostro hasia la gente leia en un libro de lengua ynglesa no sabia que y que algunos de los prestes son casados pero los predicadores no sabe que lo sean y que sola una ues auia estado en sermon porque de hedad de seis años auia seruido a un pescador y sienpre auia andado ẽ la pesqueria y que la quaresma ayunan en Yngalaterra los miercoles y uiernes y sabado no comiendo mas de pan y seruesa y que los domingos y mas dias de la semana comen pescado y no ayunan ni son dias de ayuno y que tanbien tres dias antes de la pascua d'espritu santo ay tres dias de ayuno que son miercoles y uiernes y sabado y algunas bisperas de fiestas de santos como son natiudad

san clemente y santa catalina y otros fiestas ẽ los q̃les dias el auia ayunado los quales ayunos mando haser el preste los quales prestes biuen ẽ 'la rreligion que agora se predica en Yngalaterra y que la pascua florida tienen todos en Yngalaterra obligacion de rresebyr la comunion aunque el no la auia rresibido sino uisto la rresebyr a otros pero que el estaua hincado de rrodillas dandose ẽ los pechos y que los que la rresebian estauan a el rrededor de una mesa muy apartada de rrodillas y alli el preste les daua vn poco de pan qu'es blanco como un papel y q^do los da dise toma esto en rremembrança de que cristo murio por ti etc.; (f. 195)

Votos. En Canaria veinte y tres dias del mes de agosto de mill e quis^o y ochenta y seis años estando el señor Inq^or licen^do Fran^co Madaleno ẽ su audiencia de la tarde juntam^te con el licen^do Pedro del Castillo; etc.; vieron la informaçion contra Juan Huer de naçion yngles criado de los frayles de S^to domingo etc.; y todos de conformidad fueron de parescer q̃ sea preso con secresto de bienes; etc. (f. 211)

Pr^a Audiencia. En Canaria treze dias del mes de septiembre etc.; estando el señor Inq^or Fran^co Madaleno en su audiençia de la mañana mando traer a ella de las carçeles a vn hombre etc.;

Dixo que se llama Juan Huer y que es natural de Yngalaterra de vn Pueblo q̃ se llama Soneche y que es de hedad de diez y siete años y que es pescador y que a seis dias que entro preso en estas carçeles y declaro su genealogia ẽ la manera sig^e; etc.

Preguntado en que Religion viuen los dhos, sus padres.

Dixo q̃ ellos viuen solos q̃ no tienen ninguna persona en su casa y que en ella tienen ymagines que le dixeron que eran de dios y S^ta Maria y que los tienen secretam^te. porque si lo supiesen les quemarian a sus padres porq̃. la Reyna es luterana etc.; (f. 214)

2 Audi^a . . . Preguntado si quando este confesante dexaua de comer carne los miercoles si pensaua q̃ hazia seru^o a dios en ello y que pensaua ganar.

Dixo q̃ la Reyna mandaua q̃ no se comiese carne y que por eso este confesante no la comia porque si se la bieran comer le echaran ẽ la carcel pero no penso que en ello hazia ning^a buena obra porque su madre le auia dho. que bien se podra comer carne en miercoles conforme a lo antiguo; . . . (f. 217)

En Canaria diez y ocho dias del mes de septiembre etc. estando el señor Inq^or etc.; dixo q̃ por estar ocupadas las carçeles y tiene necessidad deençerrar ẽ ellas otros y que esta comiendo el dho.

Juan a quenta del fisco el qual no tiene para darselo mandaua y mando que el suso dho. sea puesto ẽ 'l monesterio de S^to^ domingo desta ciudad . . . hasta que su causa se fenesca a los quales se encargue tengan cuydado de enseñarle la doctrina christiana; etc.

(f. 222)

1 t^o^ Al primer testigo de la dha. publicacion y primer capitulo del siendole leydo.

Dixo que lo q^do^ ẽ 'l dho. capitulo no ay tal porque este q^e^ yua a misa y domingos y fiestas y daua muestras de christiano.

2 t^o^ Al segundo capitulo del dho. testigo.

Dixo que'es berdad que vna vez sola ẽbio este confesante de comer su raçion a vn yngles que estaua preso ẽ la carcel real que nunca le vido ni hablo mas de que le dixeron q̃ era de bristol y q̃ auia saltado en tierra de Thenerife con otros mas abaxo de garachico a hurtar en vn yngenio de acucares y vino y que le auian dado con vna espada y le auian herido y cogido y que esto lo dezia 'ntes que estauan presos ẽ la carcel porque este q^e^ nunca le hablo porq. la comida el dho. . . . se la ẽbio con vn moço de la carcel que pedia para los presos y qu 'el padre prouincial le dixo a este q^e^ que no le ẽbiase mas de comer a el dho. yngles porque era lutherano.

Preg^do^ si sabe este confesante que cosa es ser lutherano.

Dixo que ser lutherano entiende es no oyr misa y hurtar y no supo dar otra raçon ninguna etc. . . .

Preguntado si sabe este q^e^ en que religion viuen el dho. maestre Estevan Estanque y los marineros q̃ yuá ẽ 'l nauio si ẽ la nueua o la bieja.

Dixo que en la nueua viuen todos por.q̃ no enseña otra.

Preguntado segun esto si le paresce a este confesante que estando alla entre ellos el dho. Jofre Lopez le permitirian y dexarian biuir en otra religion mas de la que alla se enseña.

Dixo que este confesante entiende y tiene por cierto que estando el dho. Jofre Lopez ẽ la dha. ciudad de Anthona forcosam^te^ auria de viuir como biuen los demas que es ẽ la nueua religion porque ay guardas que tienen quenta con esto q̃ son los gouernadores los quales los prenden y los echan ẽ la carçel sino viuen ẽ la nueua religion. . . . (f. 230)

En Canaria catorçe dias del mes de março de mill, etc.; estando el señor Inq^or^ etc.; mando traer a ella de las carçeles a el dho. Juan Huer y siendo pres^te^ le fue dho. si se a acordado algo ẽ su negocio, etc.;

Dixo q̃ no tiene mas que dezir de lo que a dho.

fuele dicho que ya sele . . . muchas y diuersas vezes ha sido amonestado dixese enteramente verdad de todo lo q̃ ouiese echo o dicho o bisto hazer o dezir a otras personas etc.; lo qual no ha querido hazer y por este dicho proceso paresce que calla y encubre muchas cosas, etc.; y se le amonesta de parte de dios ñro. S^{or} y de su gloria y bendita madre ñra. S^{a} la virgen maria diga y confiese enteram^{te} berdad de lo que esta testificado y de todo lo demas que ouiere fecho o dicho o bisto hazer o dezir a otras personas en offensa de ñra. S^{ta} fee catholica sin encubrir de si ni dellas cosa alguna ni leuantar a si ni a otro falso testimonio porque con esto descargara su conciencia como fiel christiano y se vsare con el de la misericordia que ouiere lugar donde no se le haze saber que su proceso esta vista por personas de letras y rectas concienças a las quales a paresçido que el sea puesto a quistion de tormento paraque en el diga la verdad.

Dixo que uo tiene mas que dezir de que la berdad a dicho.

E luego los dichos s^{or} Inq^{or} y Hordinario visto que el dho. Juan Huer estaua negatiuo pronunçiaron la sentençia sig^{e}.

Visto ec^{a}.

Christi nomine inuocato

fallamos atentos los auctos y meritos del dho. proçeso indicios y sospechas que del resultan contra el dho. Juan Huer que le deuemos de condenar y condenamos a que sea puesto a quistion de tormento ẽ 'l qual mandamos este y perseuere por tanto tiempo quanto a nos bien visto fuere paraque en el diga la berdad de lo que esta testificado y acusado con protestaçion q̃ le hazemos que si en el dho. tormento muriere fuere lisiado o se le siguiere effusion de sangre o mutilaçion de miembro sea a su culpa y cargo y no a la nr̃a. por no auer querido dezir la berdad y por esta nr̃a. sentencia asi lo pronunçiamos y mandamos, etc.;

E con tanto fue mandado lleuar a la camara del tormento donde fueron los dhos. S^{or} Inq^{or} y Hordinario y estando en ella fue mandada atar y ligar los braços a el dho. Juan Huer y asi atados.

fue amonestado que por amor de Dios diga la verdad y no se quiera ber en tanto trabajo.

Dixo que aqui en sancto domingo se boluio christiano seria como onçe dias despues de venido a esta ysla.

Preguntado quien le enseño, etc.

Dixo que los frayles de S^{to} domingo.

Preguntado que le enseñaron; etc.

Dixo que a reçar y a oyr misa cada dia.

Preguntado que oraçiones le enseñaron los dichos frayles.

Dixo que el padre nño. y credo y la Salue Regina le enseñaron luego que vino a esta ysla.

fuele dicho que en la primera audiencia q̃ con el se tuuo no supo el padre ñro bien dho. ni la salue de lo qual se colige que no dize berdad en dezir que luego que vino a esta ysla aprendio las dichas oraçiones.

Dixo que quando deste s^to offi^o le embiaron a el conuento de s^to domingo desta ciudad entonces lo aprendio.

fuele dicho que segun eso paresce que no se reduxo a nña S^ta fee catholica en el tiempo que dize que fue luego que entro en esta ysla.

Dixo que es berdad que hasta que le traxeron preso por este s^to offi^o siempre auia estado ẽ los herrores de la nueua religion de yngalaterra y como bino preso a este s^to offi^o se aparto de todo corazon dellos y se boluio a nña. s^ta fee catholica.

Preguntado si es berdad que por esta razon de no estar reduçido a nña. s^ta fee catholica hasta que vino a este s^to offi^o preso dexaua en la ysla de Thenerife de oyr misa y de hazer reuerencia a el sanctissimo sacramento y si es berdad lo que los testigos dizen, etc.

Dixo que es berdad que este confesante dexaua de oyr misa en la ysla de thenerife en sancto domingo y una vez dexo de humillarse al sanctissimo sacramento porque no se lo auian enseñado ni lo entendia ni sabia si era bueno o no porque no estaua reducido a nña. s^ta fee catholica.

Preguntado porque no a dicho la verdad desto hasta agora.

Dixo qu'el diablo le a engañado para dexar de dezirlo hasta agora.

Preguntado si le a tambien engañado el diablo de perseuerar ẽ la dicha nueua Religion que auia tenido hasta agora lo qual se presume por no auer dho. la verdad hasta agora.

Dixo que la verdad a dicho y que quando salio preso deste s^to offi^o dexo la credulidad de la dha. Religion de Yngalaterra y se boluio a nña s^ta fee catholica.

fuele dicho que no es berisimil qu'el se boluio de todo a nña s^ta fee catholica pues nego aquella berdad que los testigos dixeron contra el y no lo a confesado hasta agora.

Dixo que pide a dios perdon dello y no supo dar otra razon ninga y con tanto por parescer que auia satisfecho los dhos. s^or Inq^or y Hordinario por parescer que el dicho Juan Huer auia satisfecho suspendierõ el dicho tormento y asi el dho. Ju^o Huer fue

desatado y al parescer quedo[1] [sano de sus miembros] y esta diligencia se acabo despues de dadas las diez antes de medio dia y contanto el dho. Juº Huer le fue mdº se fuese a el monesterio etc.; (f. 233b)

Votos. En Canaria veinte y vn dias del mes de março etc. estando el señor Inqor licendº Franco Madaleno en su audiençia de la tarde en vista de procesos juntamte con el licendº diego del aguila, etc.; vieron el proceso q̃ en este sto offiº se a seguido contra Juan Huer de naçion yngles estante en esta ciudad y vnanimes fueron de vn voto y paresçer que sea reconciliado en auto publico de fee ẽ forma de penitente con confiscacion de bienes habito y carcel por tres años los quales cumpla ẽ las galeras de su magd a el remo y sin sueldo; etc. (f. 235b)

Estando concluso para diffinitiua este processo sobre la fuga q̃ hizo de la carcel de la Isla de la Palma se huyo y absento otra vez desta Isla q̃. tenia por carcel y se siguio nueuo processo y causa sobre la fuga e impenitencia. (f. 242)

tº Primero. brahem, turco. En Canaria onçe dias del mes de mayo; etc. estando el señor Inqor licendº Franco Madaleno en su audiencia de la mañana mando entrar en ella vn hombre; etc.

Preguntado si sabe o presume la causa porq. a sido llamado a este sto offiº.

Dixo q̃ si sabe qu'es para tomarle confision sobre vnos yngleses que estauã en la carçel de la ysla de la palma.

fuele dicho que diga lo que sabe de los dichos yngleses.

Dixo que este confesante andaua en la ysla de la Palma a trabajar por la ciudad y tambien trabajauan Eduarte y Juan yngleses y vn morisco que llamauan Pedro con los quales este confesante se comunicaua y estauan alli c̃biados por este sto offiº con vnos habitos que cada vno tenia dos cruzes vna en el pecho y otra en las espaldas para de alli embiarles a las galeras para donde estauan condenados por este sto officio y este confesante tratando con ellos les dio a entender q̃ tenia gana de yr a su tierra a buscar su liuertad y los dichos Juan Eduarte y Pedro tambien dixeron que querian buscar su liuertad y este confesante les dixo que por alli andauan nauios de franceses y que se podrian pasar con ellos y que ellos alla las darian liuertad porque no captiuauan que para ello podrian tomar vn barco de los que alli auiã ẽ la costa y ẽ 'l podrian ir a las calmas a buscar los franceses y a esto respondieron ellos que lo harian; etc. (f. 243)

[1] Part of the phrase is omitted in MSS. It usually runs "quedo sano de sus miembros," see Birch, vol. i, p. 311.

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El Fiscal contra Eduarte Estebans natural de londres en Ingala terra.

Informaçion.
moniciones.
Acusacion.
Aprueua.
Ratificados testigos.
Dada publicacion.
Comunicada.
Concluso.

La sentencia de relaxacion y execuciõ y los demas authos deste reo estan en el processo siguiente de Richarte Niauman.

(f. 331)

Te Juan de fraga. En Canaria diez dias del mes de março de mille quise y ochenta y siete años estando el señor Inqor Franco Madaleno en su audiencia de la tarde fue resçebudo juramento ẽ forma de derecho de Juan de Fraga jurado y vzo de la ysla de la palma so cargo del qual prometio de dezir verdad y le fue dho. que diga muy en particular lo que sabe acerca de vn galeon con su zabra yngleses los nauios que entraron en la ysla de la palma de que esta mañana dio noticia a el dho. Inqor.

Dixo que abra veinte dias poco mas o menos que surgieron en el puerto de la ysla de la palma vn nauio que dizen que era al pie de trezientas pipas y vna çabra que dizen era cinqta o sesenta y los cascos se conoçio y entendio que eran yngleses segun la forma dellos en los quales venian hasta cinqta o sesenta personas entre ambos a dos y oyo dezir que entre ellos benian seis o siete yngleses aunque este testigo no vido mas que quatro y los dos dellos eran hombres que parecian de facion y en su manera hombres de quenta y alli se dezia y publicaua en la dha. ysla que los dhos. dos deuian de tener pte. en los nauios y que los seruian los demas yngleses y portugueses casi la rodilla por el suelo como a personas principales y que trayan saluo conduto de la Reyna de Yngalaterra y del almirante della paraque ningun yngles les pudiese hazer perjuizio y dezian que yuan camino de guinea y del Brasil para alli cargar de açucares y boluer con la mitad de la carga a Yngalaterra porque asi contenia ẽ la carta de fletamento el maestro a el capitan y que este to oyo dezir al Theniente de la dha. ysla que hizo las aueriguaciones que el saluo conduto venia en lengua yuglesa y que este to oyo dezir a vn Jorge Aluarez vzo de la Palma que auia

venido en vno de los dhos. nauios dende la ysla de la Madera hasta la dha. ysla de la Palma que en la ysla de la Madera auian estado como quinze dias y que auian tratado y conuersado con los vz^os^ de la dha. ysla y que alli les auian despachado.

Preg^do^ si oyo este t^o^ dezir alguna persona ẽ la ysla de la Palma q̃ los yngleses que venian en el dho. nauio fuesẽ malos xpianos o hereges.

Dixo que no oyo dezir mas de que a vn muchacho de los yngleses le auian baptizado en Viana en Portugal y que este t^o^ como ellos son yngleses los tiene por muy sospechosos ẽ la fee porque asi es publico que lo estan y dados por cismaticos y que le pareçe que en querer lleuar mantenimientos a hereges y malos christianos que venian ẽ los dhos. nauios que deuen de ser tan malos como ellos.

Yten dixo que la justicia real de la dha ysla de la Palma començo a hazer informacion y a proçeder contra los dhos. yngleses y portugueses y les tomo las belas de los nauios y hizo sacar a tierra vnos cofres y caxas y fardos y ropas y lo hizo depositar no sabe en quien y que para proçeder contra ellos lo comunico en el cabildo y todos los que en el se hallaron por parescer sospechosos les parescio q̃ secretam^te^ les deuia de yr prendiendo y secrestandoles los bienes y la sospecha q̃ contra ellos auia era porque venian muy artillados qu'el mayor nauio traya diez y seis, o diez y siete pieças y el pequeño quatro o cinco y dezian que trayan treinta quintales de poluora y trayan muchas pelotas con puyas e artificios e otras municiones y por venir como venian confederados portugueses con yngleses y por traer el saluo conduto de la dha. Reyna y almirante y en lengua ynglesa y por entenderse que querian lleuar la mitad de la carga a Yngalaterra; etc. (f. 333)

En Canaria el dho. dia doce de março; etc., ante el s^r^ inquisidor, etc.; parecio siendo llamado vn hombre; etc. y dixo llamarse.

Ju^o^ Gonçalez Media alguaçil que a sido de la justicia de la ysla de la Palma, etc. . . .

fuele dho. que diga muy en particular de donde entendio i oyo que auian salido los dhos. nauios y donde yuan etc.

Dixo que alli se decia por muy publico en aquella ysla que los capitanes de vn nabio grande y de vna çabra mas pequeña eran portugueses i que benia de Biana en Portugal y abia ido a la ysla de la madera a cargar de vinos y por no los auer hallado alli pasaron a la ysla de la Palma adonde conpraron algunos y dauan a trueco algunos londres de yngalaterra y olandas y entonces ha entendido

que trayan en su conpañia algunos yngleses i que por este ocasion la Justiçia Real auia proçedido contra ellos por denunçiaçion del alguaçil mayor y este testigo vido que prendieron a los capitanes e yngleses y a la demas gente que venia é 'l dho. nauio i çabra y les tomaron las belas dellos y echaron a tierra vnos fardos i caxas y baules i que este testigo entro é 'l dho. nauio y uido ẽ 'l veinte y dos baules y treinta y tres caxas que descubrieran de mercaderias y dos fardos grandes i quatro bersos y lo demas que benian en ellos dixeron alli que eran vinos i que la naue mayor tenia diez i ocho tiros de hierro colado y el menor dos grandes i quatro bersos y mucha cantidad de poluora escopetas y pieças ẽ vna sala de armas i que este t° vido que trayan vna patente los dhos. capitanes Portugueses del almirante de Yngalaterra escrita en lengua ynglesa con vn sello muy grande ẽ 'l qual estaua pintado vna nao que dezia era el sello de la rreyna por la qual mandaua que ningun ingles les pudiese haçer daño ni perjuicio i que oyo deçir este t° a Benito Corres de Estripiñan v° de la isla de la Palma que trayan los dhos. Portugueses vna carta de fletamento fecha en Yngalaterra por la qual se obligauan los dhos. Portugueses capitanes de ir con los dhos. nauios a Angola y alli vender los vinos y mercaderias y despues ir a cargar al Brasil de las mercadurias que alli se cargan i lleuar la carga a Yngalaterra i que los dhos. Portugueses confesauan alli en la Palma que benian de Yngalaterra i que la rreyna les auia dado el nauio mas pequeño en rreconpensa de que decia el dho. capitan que le auian robado los yngleses vn nauio grande que el tenia biniendo del Brasil cargado y decia asi mismo que el nauio mayor lo auia conprado en Yngalaterra por su dinero y la justicia seglar començo a proceder contra los dhos. Portugueses e Yngleses porque todos clamauan y les pareçia mal que estando apregonadas guerras con su mag^t^ biniesen los dhos. Portugueses de aquel rreyno y tubiesen en su conpañia yngleses pareciendoles por eso que deuian de ser traidores porque alli los tienen por erexes porque a mas de ueinte y tantos ãos. que no se dice misa ni batiçan i es publica voz i fama que son erexes i estan todos por çismaticos y apregonadas guerras contra ellos y contra los portugueses deçian ẽ la dha. ysla que merecian estar ahorcados por lleuar manteni mientos de tierras de Xpianos a ereges e ynfieles; etc. (f. 334b)

En Canaria doçe dias del mes de março, etc.; parecio . . . vn hombre; etc., y dixo llamarse.

El licenciado Luis de Parrado juez que a sido Por su mag^d^ etc.; . . .

Preguntado que es lo que vio tratar este tº ẽ la dha. isla de la Palma sobre venir confederados yngleses y portugueses.

Dixo que no puede decir en eso cosa cierta porque el bulgo dice muchas cosas como les parece i que alli tanbien se decia que deuian de ser aquellas mercadurias de alguno de aquellos yngleses que venian ẽ su conpañia i que sino traxeran consigo los dhos. ingleses entiende este tº q̃. no vbiera dellos ningª sospecha ni se echara de ber en ello porque se a dho. que su magd a mandado ẽbargar las haciendas de los ingleses i que se abia pregonado guerra en Ingalaterra contra España i q̃. este tº tanbien a oydo decir que los ingleses estan dados por cismaticos; etc.

Preguntado que a colexido y presumido este tº de los dhos. capitanes portugueses en rrespeto de auer fº fletamento pª lleuar mantenimientos y mercaderias i gentes sospechosas de erejes i dados por cismaticos.

Dixo que si fuese verdad lo ternia por mala sospecha i que serian fautores de erexes y de enemigos de su magt y de la cristiandad pero que en disquento de esto oyo decir que por el peligro que oy en dia ay ẽ la nauegacion por los muchos piratas que ay de ingleses trayan los dhos. rrecados y pª asegurarse dellos que trayan otro fletamento fº ẽ Viana que era lo que en rrealidad de uerdad auia de valer pero que este tº no tiene visto mas de lo que tiene dho; etc.

(f. 336b)

E la Palma tres de mayo; etc., el sr fray Pº de san Luys guardian susodho. por presencia de mi el dho. Juº Cabrejas notario fue llamado a frai Geronimo de Paz de la orden de Sr Santo Domingo Predicador etc; . . .

Preguntado si conoçe al capitan francº de Rocha Paris y si tiene noticia e conocimiento de la gente que el suso dho. trae ẽ la nao y çabra que tiene en este puerto en partiqular de los yngleses que el suso dho. trae ẽ la nao y çabra.

Dixo que conoçe al dho. Francº de Rocha Paris porque el susodho. vino un dia despues que llego a esta ysla i se confeso con este tº y este porque auia oydo decir que traia ingleses el susodho ẽ la dha. su nao i çabra le pregunto por ellos y el susodho. le dixo que los traeria para los confesarse y ansi les hiço venir; etc., . . .

. . . Dixo que vn dia de fiesta los trajo al convento de santo domingo de este ciudad donde este tº estaua el dho. Francº de Rocha a todos los ingleses qe. traia ẽ la dha. nao y zabra y alli delante de algunos frayles como entendio este tº que venian de Yngalaterra donde publicamente profesan la seta luterana les hiço vna larga

platica acerca de nra. relixion; etc. y ellos dixeron que estauan bien con aquello que les decia este testigo i quiserian confesar con el y se fueron a la celda de este t° y uno a otro les tuvo dentro con vn interprete dellos que es vn Richarte q̃ vino con ellos que habla mejor español; etc. . . . y luego a dos o tres dellos que uido este t° que estauan mas ẽseñado ẽ nra. fe los confeso sacramentalm^te y los hiço comulgar; etc. (f. 340b)

En Canaria once dias del mes de Febr° de mill y quis° y ochenta y ocho as°, etc. . . . parecio llamado.

Fray Hier^mo de Paz etc.; . . . auiendosele advertido q. el fiscal del s^to off° le presentaba por t° contra las personas q̃ por su declaracion parecian estar culpados el qual dixo q̃. no tenia q̃ añadir ni emendar saluo q̃ los q̃ confeso y comulgo fueron dos ingleses q̃ el uno se llama Richarte q̃ anda por esta ciudad y al mesmo le pregunto q̃. quien le daba de comer aqui y dixo q̃ Pablo Arnao y el otro Eduarte q̃ esta en el conuento de S° Domingo y sirue de cozinero y los demas no los confesso ni comulgo sacramentalmente porque no estaban cathetizados sino como negros de guinea.

Preguntado quienes fueron los q̃. este t° dixo q̃. hallo mas probectos en nra. religion y le dixeron q̃. auian sido criados en la secta lutherana peroq̃. despues q̃ auian llegado a años de discrecion auian visto y entendido q̃ aquello eran nouedades y q̃ querian de aqui adelante viuir y morir en la ley q̃ sus padres y antepassados auian viuido.

Dixo q̃. le parece q̃ eran dos q̃ fueron con el dho. Franco de Rocha q̃ el vno le parece se llamaba Richarte y el otro no se acuerda de su nombre; etc. (f. 342b)

Votos. En Canaria trece dias del mes de Março de mil y quis^os y ochenta y siete as°, estando el señor inquis^or lic^do Franco Madaleno en su audiencia de la tarde juntamente con el lic^do di° del aguila etc. Vieron las testificaciones recibidas contra Francisco de Rocha Paris portugues y consortes q̃ a la Isla de la Palma an venido con vna nao y zabra inglesas vnanimes fueron de voto y parecer q̃. se proceda contra ellos a hazer informacion; etc. (f. 343b)

Vistas las confessiones deste Reo se dudo si por auer cometido los delictos y aposthasia en Ingalaterra se podria conocer aqui dellos se consulto a los ss. del cons° como pareçe por la minuta de la carta q. esta en el libro de cartas q̃. se scriben a 17 de abril de

1587 y el consº consultado con el Rmo sor inquisor gñl. respondio q̃. se procediese e hiziese justiª como parece por carta de 20 de agosto de 1587 q̃ esta en el processo de Richarte Niauman.

(f. 344)

En el mes de março pasado llegaron a la ysla de la Palma dos nauios q̃ auian salido de Yngalaterra con mercaderias en los quales vinieron siete yngleses y los capitanes y maestros y toda la demas gente eran portugueses y por traer los nauios muy artillados y con muchas preparaciones de guerra sospecho la justiçia real deuian de ser piratas y gente de mal trato y procediendo contra ellos se hallo que trayan carta de fletamento para cargar en el Brasil açucares y palo y boluer con ello a Yngalaterra y asi mismo se hallo en el dho. nauio vna escritura en lengua ynglesa fecha ẽ londres a veinte de mayo de mill e quisº y ochenta y seis y en el fin della dezia en el veinte y ocheno año del regimiento de nr̃a señora la Reyna Elisabet por la graçia de dios Reyna de Yngalaterra Françia e Yrlanda defendedora de la fee la qual escritura es vn saluo conduto q̃ dio el almirante de Yngalaterra paraq̃. los yngleses piratas q̃ andan por la mar no hiziesen daño ninguno a los dhos. nauios ni a las gentes ni mercaderias q̃ en ellos yuan antes les diesen fauor e ayuda por quanto auian de boluer a Yngalaterra con los dhos. nauios açucares y palo con esta sospecha y con la comun que ay de todos los dhos. yngleses fueron dos dellos llamados a este tribunal y examinandolos por las preguntas hordinarias de la cartilla si confesauan y comulgauan y oyan misa quando lo mandaua la stª madre Yglesia luego descubrieron ser hereges y auer tenido errores de la nueua religion de Yngalaterra y el vno dellos confeso auer viuido en ella algunos años y por dexarla se auia salido de Yngalaterra y q̃ auia tenido en ella crehençia y pertinaçia auiendo tenido antes sufficiente notiçia de la Religion christiana y ley euangelica y el otro confeso auer viuido siempre catholicamte pero auia tenido errores açerca de la comunion que rescibio tres vezes de mano de los prestes porque dezia que ellos dauan la dha. comunion debaxo de speçies de pan y vino en remembrança del Cuerpo y sangre de nr̃o. señor Jesu Christo y que no era su verdadero cuerpo que fue opinion de Caluino peroqu 'el no creya q̃ era aquella la remembrança solamente sino el del Cuerpo y sangre de Nr̃o. Señor Jesu sin embargo q̃ sabia q̃ los prestes q̃ lo administrauan eran mere legos y casados y sin ningun poder ni orden porque auia visto muchos mercaderes y officiales que con solo saber leer en vna semana los hazian ministros de las yglesias y q̃ tambien los

obispos q̃. los nombrauan los mas dellos eran casados y que en los dhos. errores auian estado por algunos años hasta que estando en Roma vn teatino de su naçion le auia aconsejado y le auia desengañado dello y q̃ de los dhos. errores se arrepentia y pedia perdon y absoluçion, a nos puesto duda en estas causas la carta acordada de V. Sª de veinte y dos de Junio de mill e quisº y setenta y cinco por la qual se da orden de la forma q̃ se a de tenir en proçeder contra los yngleses si por ser los yndiçios que aqui ouo contra ellos no muy graues y los principales delictos cometieron en Yngalaterra se podian aqui reconçiliar y si sera en aucto publico y si aura confiscaçion de bienes porque el vno dellos los tiene en esta ysla donde solia tener trato y comerçio suplicamos a V. Sª nos mande auisar de lo que en estas causas se deue hazer y si ay alguna nueua orden o yntencion dada en Consejo para proçeder contra los dhos. yngleses; etc. de Canaria y de abril 17 de 1587. El licdo Frco Madaleno. (f. 345)

Treslado de vna carta del Consejo del Rey Nr̃o Sor de la gñal. Inqon para esta Inqon de Canaria. Respues a la de arriba.

Rescibimos vna carta de diez y siete de abril proxime pasado y visto lo que por ella escreuis çerca de los dos yngleses piratas que teneis presos se a consultado al Rmo Sor Cardenal Inquisor General y a parescido q̃ en las causas de los susodichos proçedais y hagais señores justicia.

Dios os gde en Madrid 20 de agosto 1587. El licendo Antonio Matos de Noroña; etc.

En Canaria quinze dias del mes de abril de mill quisº y ochenta y siete años estando el señor Inqor Francº Madaleno ẽ su audiencia de la mañana mando entrar é 'lla a vn hombre; etc.

Dixo q̃. se llama Eduarte Estiuanes natural de la ciudad de Londres en Yngalaterra y qu'es de hedad de beinte años q̃ va a veinte y vno y que su offiº es andar por la mar ẽ seruiº de Francº de Rocha portugues que le sirue tres años, etc. (f. 346)

Preguntado por el discurso de su vida

Dixo que nascio en londres donde se crio en casa de sus padres el qual era calderero hasta q̃. fue de hedad de diez y siete años y que entonçes asento con el dho. Francº Rocha su amo por cinco años para seruirle y que salio con el en vn nauio portugueses que auian robado yngleses que le compro su amo y de alli fueron a Viana en Portugal de donde con las mercaderias que lleuauan de londres

se fueron a el brasil donde estarian seis meses y alli cargaron de açucar y palo el dho. nauio portugues para lleuar a Yngalaterra y en el camino junto de las yslas de la Terçera salieron tres navios de yngleses criados del almirante de Yngalaterra y los robaron y a este q^e^ lleuaron a Yngalaterra y a el dho. su amo echaron en tierra ẽ la Terçera y este confesante entro en Yngalaterra por el mes de nou^e^ del año de ochenta y çinco y alli se entretuuo con sus parientes hasta que boluio a Yngalaterra el dho. Franco da Rocha su amo y alli boluio a seruirle en dos nauios que alli buo el vno comprado con letras que lleuo de Portugal y el otro que fue vna pinaça le dieron en recompensa de lo que auia hurtado los yngleses y asi cargo de lino pez ropa y alquitran y se vino con ello para Viana y con el se embarcaron muchos portugueses y tres castellanos que estauan robados alli y diez y ocho estrangeros los quinze yngles y vn flamenco y vn escoçes y vn frances los quales todos llegaron a Viana y algunos de los dhos. estrangeros los despidio alli el dho. franco da Rocha porq. no alcanço licençia del ser^mo^ cardenal para traer tantos en el nauio; etc., y antes desto en Viana ẽbargaron a el dho. franco da Rocha el nauio y cafra porque traya estrangeros y mercaderias de Yngalaterra y el dho. Franco da Rocha fue a Lisboa y alli el principe cardenal lo mando desembargar y con esto salieron de Viana de do fueron a la ysla de Madera y de alli a la de la Palma donde les ẽbargo la justiçia diziendo que eran ladrones de donde entendian yr—Angola y alli cargar de negros para el Brasil y del Brasil cargar de asucar y palo y benir con ello a Lisboa y de alli despues de auer registrado las mercaderias si ouiese paçes lleuarlo a Yngalaterra que asi lo oyo dezir este q^e^ a el dho. su amo.

Preguntado la carga q̃ lleuauan é 'l nauio que les robaron junto a la Tercera los yngleses como sabe que yua para Yngalaterra.

Dixo q̃. los q̃ cargaron ẽ 'l dho. nauio dezian que yuan para alli que era vn yngles que estaua ẽ 'l Brasil y tenia mucha hazienda y la cargo alli y su amo deste q^e^ y otros todos los quales dezian que yuan a Yngalaterra; etc. (f. 349b)

Votos. En Canaria quatro dias del mes de nouiembre de mill e quis^o^ y ochenta y ocho años estando el señor Inq^or^ licen^do^ Franco Madaleno en su audiencia de la tarde juntam^te^ con el señor don Hernando Suarez de Figueroa obispo destas yslas; etc., bieron el negocio y causa q̃ en este s^to^ officio se a fecho contra Eduarte Esteuanes de naçion yngles que esta detenido por este s^to^ officio

y vnanimes fueron de vn voto y paresçer q̃ sea reconçiliado en aucto publico de fee con sant benito, si lo ouiere, o sino en la yglesia cathedral desta çiudad en vn dia de domingo o fiesta donde abjure publicamente sus errores con confiscacion de bienes y acabado el aucto se le quite el sant benito y por vn año este recluso en el monesterio de s^to^ domingo desta ciudad paraq̃ sea instruydo en las cosas de la fee; etc. (f. 361)

En Canaria diez y nueue dias del mes de mayo de mill e quis^o^ y ochenta y nueue años estando el s^or^ Inq^or^ etc.; parescio llamado. El licen^do^ Alfaro abogado de la Real Audiençia destas yslas del qual fue r^do^ juramento ẽ forma de derecho so cargo del qual prometio de dezir verdad y siendo preg^do^ en razon de la fuga de los dhos. yngleses.

Dixo que este testigo conoscio en esta çiudad a Richarte Niuman y a Eduarte Esteuanes Juan Huer y a Eduarte Estreid yngleses a los quales por mandato deste s^to^ officio ayudo de abogado y sabe que tenian en el sus causas pendientes como paresçe por sus procesos y sabe y es muy pu^co^ en esta ciudad que los dhos. quatro yngleses en compañia de dos moros an echo fuga y se dize pub^co^ tomaron vn barco que estaua surto en la caleta de santa Catalina y de alli se fueron segun se sospecha a Berueria o algun nauio de yngleses si lo hallaran y particularm^te^ sabe este testigo qu'el dho. Eduarte Estreid la noche q̃ se salieron q̃. fue aura ocho o diez dias falto de la casa deste t^o^ donde se acogia adonde estuuo hasta casi las onçe y por la mañana preguntando por el dixeron q̃ no estaua ay y luego supo q̃. auia faltado el barco que a dho. y auiso a el dho. s^or^ Inq^or^ como el dho. Eduarte auia faltado y auia dexado en casa deste testigo el san benito que traya puesto paraq̃. se hiziesẽ las diligençias que conuiniesen y despues en persona vino a este s^to^ offi^o^ a dar el mismo auiso y en prosecuçion desta fuga sabe q̃. la justicia real desta ysla embio dos barcas con gente a buscar los dichos yngleses y moros y el barco y al cabo de dos o tres dias boluieron y dixeron q̃. no les auian hallado, etc. (f. 363)

El fiscal q^a^ Eduarte Estreid. estando concluso p^a^ definitiua este proceso sobre la fuga que hiço de la carçel de la ysla de la Palma se huyo y ausento otra vez de esta ysla que tenia por carçel y se siguio nuebo proçeso y causa sobre la fuga e ynpenitençia.—fue despues buelto a coger y vltim^a^ ẽ 'l terçero proçeso fue m^do^ por el consejo absoluer ad cautelam y que fuese instruydo, etc.; . . .

. . . despues de lo qual se huyo y esta segdo proçeso en esto la sentençia por donde esta fue relaxado en estatua esta en el processo de Richarte Neumã etc. (f. 376)

El Fiscal deste sto offio contra Richarte Niauman natural de londres en Ingalaterra. (f. 409)

En Canaria onçe dias del mes de abril de mill e quiso y ochenta y siete años estando el señor Inqor franco Madaleno ẽ su audia de la mañana mando entrar en ella a vn honbre etc. . . .

Dixo q̃. se llama Richart Niuman natural de la prouincia de Vstar en Yngalaterra y que es de hedad de treinta y siete años poco mas o menos; y que es lombardero y declaro su genealogia ẽ la manera sigte etc. . . .

Preguntado de q̃ casta y generaçion son los q̃ a declarado.

Dixo q̃ todos son muy buenos christianos catholicos y que ninguno a sido preso condenado ni penitençiado por la Inqon.

Preguntado: Dixo q̃ es christiano baptiçado este confesante y confirmado en tiempo del Rey don Phelipe; etc. y que en estas tierras confiesa y comulga quando esta por aca en esta ysla como ẽ la de Thenerife y ẽ la Palma dondo a quatro años que trata y lo mismo a confesado y comulgado en Ytalia y Francia de doze años que ha que trata ẽ 'llas y que tambien a confesado en Roma con los Jesuytas; etc.

Preguntado que tanto tiempo viuio de asiento este confesante en Yngalaterra antes q̃. començase a salir.

Dixo que en londres fue criado ocho años de vn mercader q̃ se llamaua Guillermo Vyongo etc;

Preguntado el dho. mercader a quien seruia en Yngalaterra en q̃. religion biuia.

Dixo que era Catholico y hermano de vn obispo q̃ fue en tpo. del Rey Philipe y algunos sus parientes despues aca an sido muertos por la fee de Christo etc;

. . . Preguntado quien es el que elige y nombra y hordena los dhos. prestes etc;

Dixo que el obispo de cada obispado que ay beinte y quatro obispos en Yngalaterra y que algunos dellos son casados aunque agora a mandado la Reyna q̃ no lo sean estos eligen y nombran ẽ su obispado los dhos. prestes; etc.

Preguntado por el discurso de su bida.

Dixo q̃. nascio como a dho. en Vstraxer donde se crio ẽ casa de

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sus padres hasta hedad de catorçe o quinze años que fue a londres a seruir a su amo donde estuuo ocho años y de alli fue por escruiº de vn nauio para Lisbona cargado de trigo y lnº y de alli tomaron carga de açucares y otras cosas y boluieron con ello a Yngalaterra y de Yngalaterra tornaron a Amberes donde cargaron caxas y ropas de lienço para la ciudad de Oporto en Portugal de donde cargaron de açucares algodon y brasil y lo lleuarõ a Amberes y de Amberes fueron a londres con apes para hazer cerbeça y de londres fueron a liorna en Ytalia con lino paños cobre y plomo y de liorna fueron a Ciuita bieja donde cargaron de piedra lumbie para paños y la lleuaron a lomdres y de alli tornaron a cargar de trigo y con ella fueron a liorna de donde tornaron a Ciuita Vieja a cargar de la dha. piedra alumbre la qual lleuaron. Amberes y de alli fueron. Alemania con cueros de carneros y de conejos y paños y de alli cargaron de jarcies para naues lino y çera y con ello fueron a londres y de alli a lisboa cargados con algunos paños y con la çera que tiene dho. y otras cosas de donde fue a Oporto y cargaron de açucares para Amberes de donde fue con otro flete de apes para londres de donde fletaron y fueron a bayona en Galicia con paños cariseas y otras cosas y de bayona bacios fueron para Cadiz de donde cargaron de binos con los quales fueron a londres de donde hizo otro biaje a vna pte del norte en Yngalaterra y alli cargo de trigo para Sn Lucar donde cargo de azeite y bino y lo lleuaron a londres donde cargaron de trigo y con ello fueron a Gibraltar de donde fueron a tomar carga en gran Malaga de Çumaque y otras cosas para londres y despues cargaron alli de trigo para esta ysla de Canaria que fue el año de ochenta y quatro y entraron ẽ 'lla a quatro de abril y traya pte ẽ 'l dho. nauio y era escruiº del y aqui cargaron de binos y açucares para londres y de londres fletaron para mosul en el andaluzia con trigo de donde fueron almeria a cargar de esparto para Caliz de donde cargaron de sal para esta ysla de Canaria para entregar ẽ 'll la naue.—Adam Gonçales que estauan conçertados y por dezir que venia tarde no la quiso resçebir y asi se fue a Thenerife de donde fleto para lleuar a doña Gregoria a Lisbona y alli fue ẽbargado dos vezes su nauio para seruir a su magd y despues selo desembargaron el marques de Sta Cruz y le dieron licençia paraque en qualquier puerto de Portugal cargase de mercaderias y asi cargo de higos aceite y vinos para Yngalaterra y alla en bna baya con temporal se perdio que seria por fin del mes de enero del año pasado de ochenta y seis y de alli se fue a Lomdres donde este qe encontro con Francº de Rosa Paris a el qual auia lleuado é su nao quando

se perdio a el y a su primo y luego que se perdio se auia ydo la tierra adentro el qual yua a cobrar vn nauio con hazienda q̃ le auian robado los yngleses y entonces le dixo a este q̃ en Lomdres que ya tenia vn nauio y pinaça que si queria andar con el que yua para el Brasil que podria ganar tanto como auia perdido y este q^e^ bisto los trabajos de Yngalaterra y porque no podia halla biuir sino era hurtando y haziendo cosas contra su conciençia determino de benirse con el para ganar su vida entre christianos y asi se concerto con (el) en seis ducados cada mes por lombardero y salieron de londres a primero de junio y fueron a Viana en Portugal por el mes de julio; etc. (f. 424)

Dixo que estuuo en Viana desde doze de julio hasta diez y seis de enero de donde fueron a Cascaes ẽ Lisboa y alli tomaron bis-cocho y margaridetas q̃. son quentas calderas y otras cosas para yr a rrescate de negros a Guinea y de alli fueron a la ysla de la Madera donde estuuieron quinze o diez y seis dias pagando los derechos porque en Viana no se pueden despachar sino es biniendo a la Madera y alli tomaron bn poco de vino y por ser caro binieron a la ysla de la Palma a tomar la resta de los vinos que le faltauan donde fueron presos por el then^e^ de la dha. ysla diziendo que eran ladrones piratas y alli les tomaron sus dhos. y les largaron otra bez y ya que estauan aparejados para partirse fue el ben^do^ alonso de Torres y los torno a embargar por este s^to^ offi^o^ y los ẽbio a esta ysla etc. . . .

. . . . . Preguntado si lleuaua este confesante ẽ 'l dho. nauio algunas mercaderias con que tratar ẽ 'l brasil.

Dixo que no lleuaua cosa ninguna porque vnas medias calças q̃ saco en Viana lo gasto ẽ 'l tp^o^ que alli estuuo y q̃ no lleuaua mas de su sueldo y que este confesante no tiene ninguna hazienda porque toda la q̃. tenia sele perdio ẽ 'l nauio q̃ dio a la costa; etc. (f. 429)

E luego de p̃dim^o^ del fiscal se le hizo cargo a el dho. Richarte Niuman del saluo conduto del almirante de Yngalaterra q̃ tiene vn sello de çera colorado con las armas de Yngalaterra que esta de Pargamino que le fue mostrado el qual respondiendo dixo qu'el dho. sello y armas son de Yngalaterra y el dho. saluo conduto esta en lengua ynglesa y es el del almirante de Yngalaterra el qual no bio como ya lo tiene confesado hasta q̃. llegaron en Viana; etc. (f. 443)

Votos. En Canaria quatro dias del mes de nouiembre de mill e quis^o^ y ochenta y ocho años estando el señor Inq^or^ liçen^do^ fran^co^ Madaleno en su audiençia de la tarde juntam^e^ con el señor don

Hernando Suarez de Figueroa obispo destas yslas etc.; vieron el negocio y causa q̃. en este s^to offi^o se a seguido contra Richarte Niuman de naçion yngles que esta detenido por este s^to offi^o y vnanimes fueron de vn voto y parescer que sea reconciliado en aucto publico de fee si lo ouviere o en la yglesia Cathedral desta ciu^d en vn dia de fiesta o domingo donde abjure publicam^te sus errores con confiscacion de sus bienes y acabado el aucto se le quite el S^t benito y por tres meses acuda a la persona que sele señalare paraq. sea instruydo ẽ las cosas de la fee; etc. (f. 448)

. . . Visto por nos los Inquisidores contra la heretica prabedad y apostasia en estas Islas y obispado de Gran Canaria; etc., ciertos processos de pleitos y causas criminales que ante nos an pendido y penden entre partes de la una el licenciado Joseph de Armas, promotor fiscal deste santo officio y de la otra reos acusados.

Richarte Niauman, lombardero Ingles, natural de la prouincia de Ustar.

Eduarte Estibanes, natural de la ciudad de Londres, Juan Huer, natural de la ciudad de Antona, Eduarte Estreid, natural de la dicha ciudad en el reyno de Ingalaterra, cuyas estatuas estan presentes.

Del qual dicho Richarte Niauman, el dicho fiscal ante nos denunció de aver sido y ser herege apostata de nuestra santa fe catholica, y de aver incurrido en otros diversos delictos de los quales constaba por informaçion, que ante nos presentó, pidiendonos le mandassemos prender y traer a las carceles deste sancto officio, y por nos visto fue acordado que el dicho reo fuesse llamado, y tubiesse la presente çiudad por carçel, con pena de docientos azotes si la quebrantasse, y en la primera audiencia que con el tubimos confesso que era Christiano baptizado, en el tiempo que el Rey don Felippe nuestro señor avia sido Rey de Ingalaterra, y que avia oydo missa y confessado y comulgado en diversas partes de la Christiandad donde avia estado y en algunas destas Islas y que lo mismo avia hecho en Ingalaterra, en casa del embaxador de Hespaña donde se decia missa, y la oyan algunos de los naturales secretamente. Y que un Jhesuita avia venido de Roma y en una casa secretamente avia dicho missa y confessado y comulgado al dicho Richarte y a otras personas, y que en publico no se decia missa, y que auia vivido ocho años en la çiudad de Londres con cierto mercader catholico que tenia un hermano preso por la reyna que era obispo porque no queria tomar su religion, y que en com-

pañia del dicho su amo avia ydo muchas vezes a las iglesias a oyr lo que alla llaman el serves, o el servicio de Dios, lo qual hazia un clerigo vestida una sobrepelliz sobre su ropa larga negra, y leya Psalmos de David y cosas de la ley de Moysen, y del testamento viejo, y despues el testamento nuevo y a la postre epistolas de sant Pablo, y una epistola y un Evangelio como aca se haze en la Missa, y que todo se decia en lengua Inglesa, y que hazian estas serves por la mañana y por la tarde, y que compelian a todos que fuesen a ellas, una vez en el mes en un dia de domingo, y el que no lo hazia por la primera vez le llebaban cierta pena de dineros, y por la segunda le hechaban en prision, y que dende el domingo de Ramos hasta el dia de Paschua, y por algunos dias despues yban los Protestantes, que son los lutheranos, a comulgar a la Iglesia etc.; . . .

. . . Y que desta forma y manera que tiene referido el dicho Richarte avia comulgado, a su pareçer, tres vezes en el tiempo que avia estado en Ingalaterra, que avria catorce años, y que para las dichas communiones no se avia confessado porque alla no avia confession ninguna, ni se hazia mas preparaçion de que el dia antes de la comunion yban todos a la iglesia y alli decian las oraciones del padre nuestro, credo, y mandamientos, y otras oraçiones, y despues el Preste daba a cada uno una cedula, y con ella yban el dia siguiente a recibir la comunion, y que los prestes y los obispos an quitado de las iglesias todos los retablos e imagines por mandado de la Reyna, y que todos los mas dellos son casados, y que entendia seguian la religion de Luthero, etc.; . . .

. . . Item dixo y declaro que en aver recibido la dicha comunion de mano de los prestes, y en aver ydo a las iglesias a oyr las serves, y las demas oraciones, avia pensado y creydo alcanzar perdon de todos sus pecados y de salvar su anima y que Dios les avia de dar la gloria por ello, y que en esta creencia avia estado los tres postreros años que estubo en Londres, sabiendo que aquella nueva religion en que vivan los dichos prestes no era buena sino contraria a la antigua: etc. . . . . .

Y que los dichos prestes y ministros de la nueua religion no decian missa para consagrar y comulgar ni estaban vestidos como los sacerdotes de aca, mas de con sola su sobrepelliz y que no tenian poder para celebrar ni consagrar el pan y vino y volverlo en cuerpo y sangre de nuestro señor Jhesu Christo, porque algunos dellos eran casados y tanbien los obispos, que los eligian y todos vivian en la nueva religion y secta de Luthero, y eran como los demas seglares, y muchos dellos mercaderes; y para eligirlos por prestes

no avian menester mas de saber leer y parecer ante el obispo, y pagar algunos angelotes, y luego les daba el poder para ser prestes. Y que avia visto el dicho Richarte algunos mercaderes y officiales que dentro de una semana eran prestes, y que con saber esto, y que los dichos prestes no tenian poder alguno para consagrar el pan y el vino por no tener la ley que manda el sancto padre, avia creydo y entendido el dicho Richarte que la misericordia de Dios era grande, y que yendo con pecho Catholico a recibir la comunion de mano de los dichos prestes no pudiendo hazer otra cosa porque los hechaban en la carçel, serviria a Dios en ello, y asi dandole los dichos prestes la comunion tan solamente en remembranza del cuerpo y sangre de nuestro señor Jhesu Christo, el dicho Richarte lo recibia en su conciencia por verdadero cuerpo y sangre de nuestro señor Jhesu Christo, y por tal lo adoraba y creya, y que en este error avia estado hasta que estando en Roma se avia confessado con un Jhesuita Ingles que despues volvio a Ingalaterra y murio por la fe de Christo. El qual le dixo que havia hecho mal, y le dio ciertas penitencias, y entonces se avia desengañado que lo que avia hecho en Ingalaterra no era bueno, y andaba errado, de lo qual pedia a Dios perdon, y a este sancto officio penitencia con misericordia y protestaba vivir y morir en la sancta fe Catholica; etc.;

(f. 464)

Eduarte Estebanes.

Y del dicho Eduarte Estebanes denuncio ante nos el dicho fiscal de aver sido y ser herege apostata como parecia por la informacion que ante nos presentó; etc. y en la primera audiencia que con el tubimos en quince dias del mes de abril del año de 1587 años dixo ser de edad de veinte años, y que era Christiano baptizado; etc. . . . y que en algunas partes de la christiandad donde avia estado avia oydo missa domingos y fiestas de guardar y algunos dias entre semana, pero que en Ingalaterra no lo avia oydo, mas de dos o tres vezes, en casa del embaxador de Francia, porque en aquel reyno no se dice mas de en casas de los embaxadores y si algun ingles la oye por la primera vez tiene pena de dinero, y por la segunda la pena doblada, y por la terçera pena de la vida. . . . etc.;

Y en otra audiençia dixo que se avia salido de Ingalaterra, y se avia venido a estas partes para poder vivir christianamente, porque sus padres y antepassados avian vivido en la religion antigua que es la que por estas partes se enseña y predica, y despues que avia visto missa y las cosas de nuestra sancta religion, se avia

afficionado a quererse volver a ella y dexar la religion que en Ingalaterra avia aprendido; etc. (f. 467)

Jhoan Huer. Eduarte Estreid.

Y los dichos Jhoan Huer y Eduarte Estreit venieron presos a este sancto officio por informacion que contra ellos se hizo, de que aviendo sido condenados por este sancto officio en ciertos años de galeras, y aviendo sido remittidos a la carcel de la Isla de la Palma, para que de alli los llebasen a las galeras de Hespaña se auian huido de la dicha carçel; etc.

Y luego pareçeo ante nos el dicho Fiscal y propuso sus acusaciones contra los dichos Jhoan Huer y Eduarte Estreit asi de lo que resultaba de sus confessiones los quales accepto, como de las informaciones que contra ellos avia, y en particular de impenitentes y relapsos, por no aver querido cumplir la penitençia y pena de galeras que por este sancto officio se les avia impuesto, y ellos avian prometido de hazer y cumplir, y porque se presumia averse vuelto y passado a los errores que avian tenido en Ingalaterra que en este sancto officio avian abjurado en auto publico de fe; etc.;

A la qual accusacion respondieron refiriendose a lo que tenian confessado y remittiendose a su primero processo, en quanto a la reconciliaçion y abjuraçion y otras penas que se les impusieron y que siempre avian traydo sus sant benitos y los pensaban llevar donde quiera que fueran aunque entraran en navios de Ingleses, y que con el trabajo y agua que sobre ellos avia llovido, estaban deslabados los dichos sant benitos; y que no tenian mas que responder a la dicha acusaçion de la qual se les fue dado copia y treslado, y letrado con quien la communicar, con cujo acuerdo y parecer concluyeron su causa para el articulo que ouviesse lugar de derecho, y las partes fueron recibidas a prueba, y durante el termino della los dichos reos fueron sueltos de las carçeles deste sancto officio y se les assigno esta ciudad por carcel debaxo de ciertas fianzas que dieron; etc.

Y estando en este estado las causas y negoçios de los dichos Richarte Niauman, Eduarte Estebanes, Jhoan Huer y Eduarte Estreid, parecio ante nos el dicho fiscal y denuncio dellos diziendo que teniendo los suso-dichos esta çiudad por carcel por este sancto officio, la avian quebrantado; etc.

Todo lo qual por nos visto aviendo tomado acuerdo y deliberaçion, con personas de letras y rectas conciençias.

Christi Nomine Invocato.

Fallamos atentos los authos y meritos de los dichos processos el dicho promotor Fiscal aver probado bien y cumplidamente sus accusaciones segun y como probar le convino, damos y pronunciamos su intençion por bien probada en consequencia de lo qual debemos de declarar y declaramos los dichos Richarte Niauman, y Eduarte Estebanes y Jhoan Huer y Eduarte Estreid aver sido y ser hereges apostatas fautores y encubridores de hereges fictos y simulados confitentes, y los dichos Jhoan Huer y Eduarte Estreid impenitentes y relapsos y por eller aver caydo e incurrido en sentencia de excomunion mayor y en confiscacion y perdimiento de todos sus bienes los quales mandamos aplicar y aplicamos a la camara y fisco real de su magestad y a su receptor en su nombre desde el dia y tiempo en que comenzaron a cometer los dichos delictos de heregia, cuya declaraçion en nos reservamos y relaxamos sus personas a la justiçia y brazo seglar; . . . (f. 470)

Dada y pronunciada fue la sentençia de suso por el dicho señor Inquisidor y hordinario que en ella firmaron sus nombres estando celebrando aucto publico de fee en la plaça de los alamos desta çiudad en unos cadahalsos altos de madera que en ella avia miercoles primero de Mayo, dia de Sant Phelipe y Sanctiago, de mill e quinientos y noventa y un años, presentes don Pº Salvago, arcediano y canonigo de Canaria contador desta Inquisicion, que por enfermedad del Licenciado Josephe de Armas fiscal hizo el dicho officio y llevo el estandarte de la fee, y quatro estatuas en lugar de las personas de los dichos Richarte Niuman, Eduarte Esteuanes, Eduarte Estierd, y Jhoan Huer, yngleses, los quales fueron relaxados a la Justiçia y braço seglar y sele entregaron siendo testigos don Luis de la Cueua y Benavides, governador y general destas yslas y los Licenciados Pedro Lopez de Aldaya, Luis de Guzman, Rodrigo de Cabrera, oydores de la real audiencia, y otras muchas personas ecclesiasticas y seglares. Todo lo qual paso ante mi,

Pº Martinez De la Bega,
Secretario.

(f. 473)

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En Canaria veinte y cinco dias del mes de septienbre de mill e quis y nouenta y dos años ante 'l sor Inqor Dor Claudio de la cueua visor desta Inqon estando ẽ su audiençia de la mañana pareçio prestᵉ Juº Rico portero que haze officio de promotor fiscal deste sancto offiçio y prestº la petiçion de suso, y pidio etc. . . . muy ylles ss.

Juan rrico portero desta ynqon etc. . . . denuncio de huyt de nacion yngles preso en la carsel rreal de la isla de tenerifee de que es el suso dicho pirata herege apostata henemygo de nuestra santa fee catolica etc. . . .

A vuesa sª pido y suplico mande dar su mandamiento paraque el suso dho. sea preso con secresto de bienes etc. (f. 167)

testigo 1º qª hugo huynfilde yngles. (f. 168)

En Canaria doze dias del mes de setiembre de mill y quis y nouenta y dos años ante 'l sor inquisor doctor Claudio de la cueua etc. paresiò siendo llamado y juro ẽ forma de derecho y prometio de dezir verdad:

Pascual leardin de naçion flamenco residente en la ysla de tenerife estante al presente en esta de Canaria de hedad de veynte y ocho años poco mas o menos el qual fue llamado por rrelaçion que se tuvo que sabra del caso de que luego se hara mençion.

Preguntado si sabe o presume la causa porque a sido llamado a este santo offº.

Dixo que lo que sabe y presume es que le an llamado para saber del de vnos diez hombres que aportaron a la ysla de tenᵉ a el lugar de abona los quales vinieron alli compelidos de la hambre y los vido este tº a todos ẽ la dicha ysla de tenerife ẽ la çiudad de la laguna y que lo que deste caso sabe es que podra auer ocho o nueue dias poco mas o menos que aviendo venido este testigo del lugar de Garachico a la çiudad de la laguna y estando con tomas de cangas corregidor de la dha. ysla le conto a este tº el suseso de los dhos. hombres de los quales antes avia oydo en el lugar de garachico y viniendo por el camino avnque no supo tan particularmᵗᵉ lo que pasaua hasta que el dho. corregidor se lo dixo y fue que los dhos. hombres vinieron en vna barca a el dho. lugar de abona por hanbre que tenian y que alli los avian tomado sus confiçiones a todos y que lo que avian confesado era que los seis de ellos heran yngleses y avian salido de yngalaterra vn nauio de la Reyna ẽ 'l qual lleuaron

a berueria vn cauallero yngles enbaxador y que lo avian echado en la puerta de santa cruz y luego se auian salido con la dha. nao ellos y los demas de ella arribar por entre estas yslas y que aviendo llegado a la ysla de la gomera a çierto puerto de ella avian hallado alli vn nauio flamenco que avia salido de garachicho avia como vn mes y avia ydo a la ysla de la palma y de alli a la de la gomera donde estauan estonses cargando de exes para españa y que aviandole abordado la dha. nao ynglesa la tomo y aviendo entrado dentro y no hallando mas que exes tomaron la mayor parte de los bastimentos y artilleria que tenia y estando en esto vieron vna vela y partio la dha. nao ynglesa tomarla y dexo la lancha con los seis yngleses y vn flamenco paraque anduviesen por aquella costa a ver si podian hazer alguna presa y estos mesmos yngleses tomaron tres flamencos por fuerça de la dha. nao flamenca y los lleuaron consigo ẽ la mesma lancha y todos dies se fueron ẽ la lancha y aviendoles sobrevenido vn tiempo fuerte avian perdido de vista su nao ynglesa y nunca mas la avian podido ver y despues de aver quedado solos toparon con vna varca de pescadores de la ysla de la palma y la tomaron con el pescado que lleuaua y lo demas y por chica su lancha en que ellos venian la dieron a los pescadores paraque se fuesen en ella tomandoles la barca por ser mayor y que en ella anduvieron algunos dias por la mar hasta que de pura hambre determinaron de venyrse a la dha. ysla de tenerife y entregarse y para hazer esto les dixeron a dos de los flamencos que avian tomado en el dho. nauio flamenco que pues ellos heran conosidos alli y no tenian culpa por avellos tomado por fuersa que saltasen ẽ tierra y dixesen lo que pasaua y que les prometiesen la vida y no hazelles mal y se entregarian y asi saltaron dos flamencos y lo trataron con la gente del dho. lugar de abona y ellos prometieron de hazerlo asi y en efecto se entregaron asi y a sus armas y el barco y que los avian traydo a la çiudad donde les avian tomado las dhas. confiçiones y que visto que los yngleses heran los corsarios y que los flamencos no tenian culpa avian dado por libres a los dichos flamencos y a los yngleses los tenia presos, etc.

Preguntado si entendio de los dhos. flamencos que los dhos. yngleses demas de ser piratas heran ereges y se guardan la relixion de su tierra etc.

Dixo que este tet° no se lo pregunto . . . etc.

Testigo 2° q^a^ hugo huynfilde yngles.

En Canaria diez y ocho dias del mes de setienbre etc. . . . paresio siendo llamado e juro ẽ forma de derecho e prometio de dezir verdad

vn honbre al parecer flamenco etc. . . . y el dho. flamenco dixo llamarse.

hans anburque que es lo mysmo que Juº i que es natural de alemanya de la ciudad de anburque vzº de alli de oficio mareante i que vino a la isla de tenerife al puerto de Garachico ẽ vn nabio aleman cargado de madera podra aber ocho semanas poco mas o menos i que el navio se llamaua los tres Reyes y el maestre del Giraldo y la mercaderia benia para bentre Roman vzº de Garachico i que este es de edad de beinte i quatro ãs poco mas o menos.

Preguntado si este testigo es vno de los q̃ vinieron a aportar al lugar de abona ẽ la ysla de tenerife con ciertos ingleses conpelidos de hanbre etc.

dixo que si etc. . . .

Preguntado de que manera vino este a poder de los dhos. yngleses i quanto tpo. ha que andaua con ellos;

dixo que abiendo estado ẽ 'l dicho puerto de garachico la dha. nao y este i los demas della dos semanas poco mas o menos se partieron para la isla de la palma y estubieron ẽ 'lla diez dias poco mas o menos i que de alli fueron a la isla de la gomera a cargar la dha. nao de exes de carreta para lleballos a sebylla i tiniendo ya cargado la dha. nao podria aber tres o quatro semanas estando este dentro de la dha. nao y todos los demas della y luis Rodriguez de garachico que era el que ẽbiaua los dhos. exes a seuilla llego vn nabio yngles grande que tendria beynte y çinco pieças de artillerya y traya vna lancha por popa y surtio cerca de adonde estos estaban en el mesmo puerto de la Gomera que se llama valle hermoso y del dho. nabio yngles llamaron a los del nabio de este para que pasasen alla y el maestre del dho. su nabio y el mercader y la demas gente no se atrebieron a pelear con ellos por bellos tan bien armados y asi el dho. maestre y mercader y otros quatro marineros ẽ su mesmo batel fueron al nabio yngles y entraron dentro el dho. maestre y mercader y dos maryneros y luego saltaron ẽ 'l batel doce o treçe yngleses y dexando al dho. maestre y mercader ẽ su nabio yngles vynieron al de este testigo y entraron dentro y lo rreboliueron todo y abrieron las escotillas y llebaron del media baca que tenyan fresca que abian traido y un barril de vino y pescado y algunas otras cosas de comer a su nabio yngles y luego acabo de rato boluio el batel y truxo el maestre y mercader a los quales auian atemorizado y amenazado que dixesen si tenian alguna cosa de valor en el nauio de este y tomaron de el tres hombres marineros que el vno fue este testigo y otro vn marinero que se llama Juan y otro nyculas

y los lleuaron al dho. nauio yngles y en el estuvieron este y los otros dos dias al cabo de los quales vieron vna caravela hazia la ysla de la palma y el capitan yngles cuyo nombre no sabe mando que ẽtrasen ẽ la lancha seis yngleses y este y sus dos companeros y otro aleman que se llama Rodrigo el qual vino juntamente con este ayer ẽ la varca y le a dicho a este el mismo que le tomaron los dhos. yngleses ẽ la costa de españa de vn navio que venia de la noruega y asi entraron todos ẽ la lancha con ocho mozquetes e quatro o çinco picas y fueron tras la caravela quedandose el nauio alli y la siguieron desde las tres o quatro de la tarde hasta que fue de noche y no la pudieron alcansar y quando amaneçio vieron vn poco de su nauio muy lexos y a medio dia se les perdio totalmente de vista y nunca mas le vieron y anduvieron dos dias por la mar sin comer bocado al cabo de los quales fueron a las calmas de la ysla de la palma donde saltaron ẽ tierra despues aver anochesido y hallaron dos pipas de vino y vn quarto y estava surta vna varca con velas ẽ la qual entraron y hallaron dos hombres y vn mochacho los quales salieron en tierra en vn batelexo y les dexaron la varca y en ella metieron el quarto de vino y por no hallar en tierra agua ni otra cosa de mantenimientos se enbarcaron ẽ la dicha varca donde hallaron dos panes y vnas pocas de sebollas solamente y dexaron la lancha creyendo de poder alcansar el navio porque tenia velas la varca y por no aver viento se estuvieron tres o quatro dias sin poder salir de alli al cabo de los quales fueron remando la buelta de la ysla de la gomera y alli hallaron serca de tierra vna varca de pescadores que estavan pescando los quales en conosiendo ser yngleses huyeron a tierra y saltaron en ella dexando la varca y estos llegaron a ella y entraron dentro y tomaron vn barril de agua que avia y la mytad del pescado salado y se boluieron a entrar en su barca y llamaron a los pescadores que vinyesen por su varca y con esto estos se fueron y anduvieron por la mar quatros dias pocos mas o menos. y fueron a la ysla de tenerife y este testigo y sus dos compañeros y el otro aleman que esta a quiles dixeron a los yngleses que ellos no tenian que comer ni agua que beuer que saltasen ẽ tierra a buscar su remedio y esto lo hizieron con yntento este y lo demas de que en saltando en tierra no boluer con los dhos. yngleses y a los yngleses les paresio bien y asi llegaron a tierra y saltaron en ella ẽ la montaña Roja que llaman quatro yngleses y este testigo y niculas su compañero y anduvieron por tierra buscando agua y no la hallaron y estonses hallaron ocazion este y el dicho su compañero se apartaron de ellos para venyrse a buscar

gente y viendolos los dichos yngleses los llamaron y este y su compañero respondieron que no querian boluer sino yr a buscar gente y como esto vieron los yngleses se bolvieron a la barca y estos se boluieron su camino y toparon con dos pescadores los quales los llevaron a vn pueblo que no sabe como se llama que le parese era vna legua o dos de montaña Roxa donde avian saltado y ally dieron notiçia al alcalde y capitan de lo que pasaua y luego fueron alla ellos con mas de veynte hombres y este y su compañero se quedaron en el lugar y aquel medio dia se bolvieron algunos de los que fueron y les dixeron a este y su compañero que los yngleses se avian metido a la mar y que hera menester que fuesen alla y los llamasen diziendo que querian bolver a entrar en la varca para yr con ellos paraque en saltando los yngleses en tierra los cogiesen y asi fueron y los yngleses estauan metidos ẽ la mar y este y su compañero no se atrevieron a llamarlos temiendo que desde la varca no les tirasen con algunos mozquetes y los matasen y el capitan visto esto levanto vna vandera blanca y hablo con los yngleses diziendoles que se viniesen a tierra y se diesen y vno de ellos que saue hablar español dixo que no querian que bien savian que avian de venir a canaria que les diesen vn piloto y que comer y que ellos querian venyr a canaria a entregarse a el presidente y el capitan les dixo que no querian sino que se entregasen y a este tiempo este y su compañero se boluieron hazia el lugar y otro dia de mañana vinieron los dhos. yngleses y los dos flamencos al lugar donde este estaua y supo este que se avian entregado por no tener que comer ni poder hazer otra cosa. . . .

Preguntado el tiempo que este estuvo con los dhos. yngleses asi los dos dias que estuvo en el nauio como los demas que anduvo ẽ la varca en que forma vio que los susodhos. reçauan y se encomendauan a Dios.

Dixo que los dos dias que estuvo en el nauio vio este testigo que el maestre llamaua a todos los yngleses que en el venian vna vez por la mañana antes que comiesen y otra a la tarde antes de anocheser y todos subian ensima de la cubierta del nauio y descubiertas las cauesas se hincauan de rodillas y el escriuano del dho. nauio cuyo nombre no sabe por vn libro que tenia ẽ la mano yva rezando ẽ lengua ynglesa y este no la entiende y al cauo de aver rrezado vn poco desta manera cantaua luego el dho. escriuano y luego le rrespondian cantando los demas todos y esto que cantauan entendio este testigo que heran salmos etc. . . .

Preguntado si supo y entendio que relixion seguian los dhos.

yngleses asi los que quedaron en el nauio como estos seis que vinieron a tenerife.

Dixo que entendio que todos ellos no eran catolicos porque vido que lo que hazian y reçauan no era como lo que hazen los catolicos avnque no sabe sertificadamente que religion seguian mas de que este testigo a oydo y entendido que los de yngalaterra son calvinystas y este los tuvo y tiene por tales a todos los dichos yngleses que tiene dicho etc. . . .

Testigo 3º qª hugo huynfilde yngles. (f. 175)

En Canaria diez y ocho dias del mes de septiembre etc. paresio siendo llamado.

. . . Rodrigo pedro natural del Reyno de sueuia etc.

Preguntado si es este testigo vno de quatro flamencos que vinieron a la ysla de tenerife con seis yngleses; etc.

Dixo que si que el es vno de los quatro flamencos etc. y que podria aver siete semanas poco mas o menos quando alli llegaron que andaua en compañia de los dhos. yngleses en vn navio que se llamaua gabriel que era de la Reyna de yngalaterra y que viniendo este de niles puerto del Reyno de suevia en vn nauio llamado el çieruo colorado maestre Juan pedro en que venia este por marinero el qual nauio venia cargado de madera para lisboa en el pareje de vna ysla que llaman de osente que es al desenbocar de la canal de flandes salio a ellos el dho. navio yngles y los tomo sin pelear y les robo los mantenimientos que llevavan solamente porque no llevavan otra cosa sino madera y tomo a este testigo y a otro flamenco del dho. navio porque tenian falta de marineros y a los demas los dexo yr con el navio para donde yvan y luego dende alli fueron derechos al puerto de santa cruz ẽ berueria donde estuvieron como doze dias y alli dezenbarcaron vn enbaxador yngles que lleuauan de la Reyna y al cabo de los doze dias se partieron la buelta destas yslas a buscar vino y otras cosas si las hallasen y a robar.

Preguntado si despues que salieron de santa cruz y vinieron para estas yslas si toparon algun navio o barca que robasen o si antes que llegasen al puerto de Santa Cruz despues que este entro con los dhos. yngleses si robaron asi mesmo algun navio o barca.

Dixo que despues que este tº ẽtro con los yngleses no toparon ni vieron ningun navio ni caravela ni varca saluo ẽ la ysla de la gomera donde estaua surta vna nao flamenca cargada de madera a la qual to maron media vaca y vn paxaro canario y vn barril de vino y vn

perrillo y tres hombres marineros de que tenian nesesidad y dexaron alla la nao con la madera porque no tenian otra cosa etc. . . .

[The evidence given by this witness and by the two witnesses Nicolas Christoval and Juan Giraldo is similar to that given by Hans Anburque.]

En Canaria veinte y cinco dias del mes de septienbre de mill e quisº. y nouenta y dos años estando el sor Inqor Dor Claudio de la cueua visor desta Inqon ẽ su audiençia de la tarde con los ss licendo Luis de Guzman etc. en consulta y vista de las testificaciones que ay en esta Inqon entre otras vieron la resçeuida contra franco Luis y Roberto y guillermo y constantino y Richarte y huit yngleses que son los seis que aportaron con hambre y neçesidad al puerto de montaña Roxa ẽ la ysla de thenerife con vna varca y vnanimes fueron de voto y pareçer que los susodichos sean presos con secresto de bienes y traydos a las carçeles secretas desta Inquison etc. [Here follows the evidence given by the five Englishmen, and the warrant for the transmission of the accused to Canary, 26 September 1592]. (f. 188)

1ª Audiencia. En Canaria siete dias del mes de otubre de mill e quisº y nouenta y dos años estando el sor Inqor Dor Claudio de la cueua visor desta Inquison ẽ su audiençia de la mañana mando traer a ella de las carçeles secretas a vn honbre que en ellas esta preso, del qual por lengua de Jorge pacar que juro que bien y fielmente hara el offiçio de ynterprete etc. (f. 216)

Preguntado como se llama que hedad y offiçio tiene y quanto a que vino preso y de donde es natural.

Dixo se llama.

Huit que quiere dezir hugo huynfil, y que es de hedad de veinte, y tres a veinte y quatro años y qu'es soldado natural de vn lugar de yngalaterra que se llama Rotheram y qu'el no sabe quando le prendieron por la Inquison porque siempre a estado preso donde que vino a la ysla de thenerife que abra vn mes poco mas o menos y qu'el viernes pasado que se contaron dos deste presente mes de otubre partieron en vna varca del puerto de sancta cruz y luego el sauado siguiente le truxeron a esta Inqon donde esta preso el qual dio su genealogia ẽ la forma y manera siguiente.

Padres.

Roberto huynfil vezino del dicho lugar de Rotheram labrador que le dexo biuo.

Ana huynfil su muger etc. . . .

Muger e hijos.

Dixo que no es casado ni tiene hijos ningunos.

Preguntado de que casta y generaçion son los dhos. sus padres y abuelos etc. . . . y si ellos o algunos, o este confesante; an sido presos penitençiados reconçiliados, o condemnados por el sancto offiçio de la Inq^on.

Dixo que sus padres y sus abuelos y todos los demas que an nombrado fueron y son christianos viejos sin raça de moros ni judios, avnque sus padres y demas que an nombrado de los que agora viuen an seguido y sigan la Religion de la yglesia de yngalaterra y que no an sido presos ni penitençiados por el sancto officio este ni ninguno de los demas que a nombrado.

Preguntado si es christiano baptizado y confirmado y si oye misa y confiesa y comulga ẽ los tiempos que manda la sancta madre yglesia.

Dixo qu'es christiano baptizado que le baptizaron en el dicho lugar de Rotherham etc.; . . . que le baptizaron ẽ la manera que baptizan alla a los demas y que la forma como baptizan es que lleuan la criatura a la yglesia y en presencia de los padrinos el ministro toma la criatura y haze vna cruz ẽ la frente con agua bendita etc. y qu 'es confirmado que lo confirmo vn arçobispo cuyo nombre no sabe etc. y que nunca en su tierra oya jamas missa porque no la dicen, sino el seruiçio que ẽ su tierra hazen los protestantes en yngalaterra y que esta es la Religion que instituyo calbino que fue el que en aprobacion suya escriuio mucho y que los ministros dizen que la ordeno dios, etc. y que nunca se a confesado porque no se vsa de la confesion de aca ẽ su tierra y que a comulgado al vso que alla comulgan vna vez cada año y que empeço a comulgar desde edad de diez y ocho años de manera que abra comulgado seis vezes . . . y començo a dezir los mandamientos como los dicen en Yngalaterra diziendo el primero amaras a dios y no haras ymagines de ninguna cosa qu'esta ẽ la tierra ni debaxo del agua ni ninguna ymagen, y los demas mandamientos los yba diziendo avnque no por orden y contenian lo mesmo que los de la ley de dios, aca, etc. . . .

En Canaria siete dias del mes de otubre etc. . . . mando traer a ella de las carceles secretas al dicho Hugo huynfel, etc. (f. 218b)

Preguntado por el discurso de su vida.

Dixo que nasçio en casa de los dichos sus padres como tiene dicho en el dicho lugar de Rotheram y alli estuuo y se crio hasta edad de

diez y siete o diez o ocho años etc. . . . y al cabo deste tiempo se fue a la ciudad de londres qu'esta de su tierra quarenta y tantas leguas adonde le imbio su padre a seruir a vn cauallero yngles que se llamaua henrrique bacar, y era de los de la Religion de los protestantes y le siruio de paxe y de escreuille algunas cosas como tiempo de quatro años, pasados los quales fue a vna ysla con vn deudo suyo que la ysla se llama de buite y esta como veinte y seis leguas de londres yendo por tierra, como este fue, y vna trabesia muy pequeña de mar y ẽ la ysla dha. estuuo como diez y ocho dias poco mas o menos olgandose con aquel su pariente y visitando algunos amigos y estando alli llego vn nauio de la Reyna para proveerse por mandado suyo de gente y entonçes entro este confesante ẽ 'l dho. nauio porque le hizieron entrar y le apremiaron a ello, y anduuo en el todo vn ynbierno por la costa de yngalaterra que serian hasta cinco meses y lo que solam^te^ hazian era ber que nauios entrauan y salian por la canal y de que partes eran. Y a cabo deste tiempo se fue a casa de su padre donde estuuo casi vn año y estando alli le apremiaron a que viniese por soldado en vn nauio de la Reyna qu'estaua en vn punto que se llama chaten donde estan todos los nauios de la Reyna porque e'l dicho nauio auia de yr vn ẽbaxador de la Reyna a berberia y asi podra auer quatro meses poco mas o menos que çerca del dho. puerto se ẽbarcaron ẽ'l dicho nauio, el dho. ẽbaxador que se llama, maestre harbas y los demas marineros y soldados que eran neçesarios ẽ'l dicho nauio y se partieron para plemua donde tomaron mas gente y al cabo de siete dias partieron para berberia, y en el camino llegando zerca de lisboa, toparon vn nauio flamenco que yba cargado de madera de flandes y del tomaron dos honbres marineros etc. . . .

Preguntado que cosas enseñan los de la nueua Religion etc. . . .

Dixo que enseñan que crean ẽ la fe apostolica y que christo murio por ellos, y que como murio por ellos ẽ la cruz y derramo su sangre les a de saluar.

Preguntado que les dizen de la Religion catolica Romana etc. . . .

Dixo que dizen que no es buena esta Religion d'españa etc. . . .

Preguntado que ẽseñan del papa de Roma y si es cabeça de la yglesia y si tiene poder para absoluer y perdonar pecados y conçeder bulas y jubileos y de lo demas tocante a su potestad.

Dixo que dizen y enseñan qu'el papa no tiene poder de dios para absoluer ni perdonar pecados y que no es cabeça de la yglesia sino la Reyna de yngalaterra que lo es y que no sabe lo que son bulas ni jubileos ni alla lo a oydo dezir.

Preguntado que dizen de la missa etc. . . .

Preguntado que dizen de la confesion sacramental etc. . . .

Dixo que niegan la confesion y dizen que no se an de confesar a los honbres sino a solo dios etc. . . .

Preguntado que ẽseñan azerca de las Religiones de los frayles y monjas que ay en españa.

Dixo que lo que ẽseñan, es que no son buenas las Religiones de españa porque no las instituyo dios ni son de la instituçion de dios y que pueden los clerigos casarse etc. . . .

Preguntado que ẽseñan de la ynterçesion de los sanctos si se an de poner por intercesores para con dios.

Dixo que dizen y ẽseñan que los sanctos no pueden ynterçeder con dios ni se a de rogar mas que a solo dios.

Preguntado que dizen del purgatorio.

Dixo que son de opinion que no ay purgatorio etc. . . .

Preguntado que dizen del comer carne ẽ los dias prohibidos por la yglesia catholica Romana como son los viernes y sauados etc. . . .

Dixo que dizen que la pueden comer en todo tiempo sin pecado porque lo que entra por la boca no haze mal al alma sino lo que sale avnque por la Reyna esta mandado que no la coman los miercoles viernes y sauados porque se gaste el pescado.

Preguntado que dizen de los ayunos disciplinas etc. . . .

Dixo que no es neçesario el ayuno ni disciplinas ni las demas obras con que se castiga el cuerpo porque no son neçesarias las obras del cuerpo extoriores sino que el coraçon es el que importa.

Preguntado si todas las cosas que a referido de la nueua Religion etc. . . . este confesante les a creydo y tenido por buenas etc. . . .

Dixo que el a tenido y creydo por buenas todas las dichas cosas de la dicha nueua Religion y las cree y tiene por tales porque en ella se a criado y no a sabido ni sabe otra cosa etc. . . .

Preguntado si a sabido que ay yglesia catholica Romana y que la dicha nueua Religion y todas sus opiniones y çeremonias son contrarias a lo que la yglesia catholica Romana predica y enseña, y si a sido enseñado ẽ instruydo ẽ las cosas de nuestra s^{ta} fee catholica o en algunas dellas.

Dixo que a oydo y tenido noticia de la yglesia catholica Romana en general de oyr dezir que la ay y que a oydo qu'es contraria a la dicha Religion nueua que alla se guarda y a las cosas della pero que no a sido enseñado ni instruydo ẽ las cosas de la yglesia Romana e ygnora los principios y las cosas en particular de la yglesia Romana porque nunca a tenido notiçia della § fuele dicho que se le haze

saber qu 'este confesante a andado herrado en tener y creer la dha. nueua Religion y sus cosas por buenas para su saluaçion porque todas ellas son falsas y que teniendolas y creyendolas se condemnara porque la yglesia catholica Romana y la fee que ella predica y enseña, es sola aquella en cuya guarda y obseruançia se puede saluar el alma, y esta yglesia Romana es la verdadera y la que ẽ 'l sancto sacramento del baptismo qu'este confesante resçiuio prometio seguir y ella condemna por mala y falsa la dha. nueua Religion, Por tanto se le amonesta que bea en qual de las dos Religiones quiere viuir y morir si ẽ la de la yglesia catholica Romana mediante la qual se saluara o ẽ la nueua que hasta aqui a seguido en que condemnara su alma.

Dixo que el a sido criado e industriado ẽ la Religion nueua que a dicho y no a sabido ni sabe otra y que el no defiende pertinazmente esta Religion ni condemna la Religion catholica Romana pero que como podra el no sabiendo ninguna cosa desta Religion ni auiendosela ẽseñado dexar la que sabe y en que a sido criado y prometer seguir la que no sabe que pide que le ẽseñe algun honbre docto etc. .

fuele dicho que se encomiende muy de ueras a dios y le pide que le alumbre el entendimiento y le de su ayuda para entender la verdad etc. . . .

Dixo que el lo hara y qu'el no desea mas que saber la verdad etc.

Auto paraque le instruyan.

En Canaria, ocho dias del mes de Otubre etc. . . . el S^{or} Inquis^{or} D^{or} Claudio de la cueua etc. dixo que attento a que hugo huynfilde yngles Reo en este pleyto ẽ las audiençias que con el se an tenido dize qu'esta presto de seguir la Religion Catholica Romana como se las ẽseñen e ynstruyan ẽ las cosas della etc. . . . mando que fray p^{o} basilio de peñalosa y D^{or} fer^{do} diaz de Vera arz^{no} de thenerife etc. se prevengan para que con fundamentos instruyan al dho. hugo huynfilde y le desengañen de herror que ay ẽ la nueua Religion de Yngalaterra y ẽ la verdad de la catholica, por quanto es honbre de entendimiento y versado ẽ la lengua latina en que se le a de ynstruyr etc. . . . (f. 228)

En Canaria quinze dias del mes de otubre . . . el s^{or} Inquis^{or} D^{or} claudio de la Cueua etc. mando traer de las carçeles secretas al dicho. (f. 228b)

Hugo huynfilde, yngles, al qual por lengua del dho. Jorge pacar etc. qu'es lo que a pensado en este su negocio etc. . . .

Dixo qu'el a pensado ẽ su negocio y que no tiene mas que dezir de lo que tiene dho. qu'es que le den persona que si a herrado le ẽseñen la verdad.

E luego el dicho s^or^ Inquis^or^ mando entrar ẽ la audiençia a fray pedro basilio de peñalosa de la orden de San benito y al D^or^ fer^do^ diaz de Vera az^no^ de thenerife etc. . . .

E luego los dichos fray Pedro basilio de peñalosa y D^or^ Fernando diaz de Vera en lengua latina començaron a ynstruyrle, y auiendo estado con el desde las nueue dadas hasta las onze oras y media persuadiendole y enseñandole le fue dicho por el dho. s^or^ Inq^or^ al dicho Jorge pacar lengua que le dixese al dho. hugo huynfilde que dixese ẽ su lengua qu'es lo que se le a tratado por los dichos calificantes y que resoluçion, a tomado en ello y auiendo selo dado a entender por medio de la dha. lengua Respondio que lo que oy a tratado con el solam^te^ a sido persuadirle con escrituras y Razones y fundamentos y con argumentos que la verdadera yglesia ynstituyda por christo es y a sido la Religion Catholica de la yglesia Romana y no la nueua de su tierra de yngalaterra etc. . .

[Further instruction of the accused.] (f. 230–236)

. . . Dixo que se le a propuesto que la yglesia de yngalaterra no es yglesia sino sinagoga del demonio y que ni en ella ni ẽ su religion ni ẽ las cosas della no se pueden saluar y qu'esta condemnada por la yglesia Romana por tal y qu'el como persona que ya a sido ynstruydo y enseñado ẽ la verdad catholica de la yglesia Romana confiesa por mala y de perdiçion del alma la dicha Religion nueua de su tierra y todas sus opiniones y ceremonias y las detesta y abomina y se aparta dellas y de la dicha Religion y reconoçe que la verdadera fee y Religion catholica es la que se le a enseñado de la yglesia Romana ẽ la qual protesta viuir y morir sin apartarse jamas della y pide con mucha humildad y sumiçion y obediençia y temor de dios ser resçeuido en esta conversion que haze al gremio de la sancta madre yglesia Catholica etc. . . .

(f. 235b)

Accusaçion. (f. 240.)

Muy Ill^es^ ss^e^.

Juan Rico portero etc. . . . acuso criminalmente a hugo ynfilde yngles natural del lugar de Rotherham en yngalaterra soldado de vn nauio de la Reyna llamado Gabriel preso ẽ las carçeles secretas deste s^to^ officio . . . digo que siendo el suso dho. cristiano baptizado con poco temor de dios nr̃o señor y mucho daño de su alma y con-

ciencia y escandalo del pueblo cristiano a hereticado y apostado de nuestra santa fee catholica y ley evangelica pasandose y estando en la falsa y reprouada seta de Martin lutero y sus sequases tenyendola por buena en especial.

1. Qu'estando el suso dho. en el dho. Reyno de yngalaterra dende muy pequeño siempre siguyo y tuvo por buena la nueua secta de los protestantes sabiendo y teniendo notiçia de la Religion catholica etc. . . .

2. Yten que vinyendo de viaje en el navio de la Reyna en que salio esta vltima ves de yngalaterra asistio de ordinario al seruiº y preses etc.

3. Yten le acuso de que como enemigo conoçido de catholicos y por tener del grande satisfaçion de que los persiguyria y haria en ellos mas daños que otros lo ynbiaron de yngalaterra en el dicho nauio ê'l qual tomaron los navios de catholicos que encontraron etc. . . .

4. Y para el mismo efecto y por tener de la satisfacion dicha lo echaron del navio en el batel estando serca de la ysla de la palma paraque fuese siguyendo una vela que descubrieron hazia aquella parte y el suso dho. y los demas la fueron siguiendo y por no poderla alcansar no la tomaron ni robaron y se deue presumir que avra hecho otros muchos robos y muertes de catholicos.

5. Yten le acuso de que aviendo sido amonestado por v. sª dexase la dha. su seta y siguiese la Religion catholica de la yglesia-Roma por ser la verdadera teniendo el susodho. obligacion de dar credito a V. Sª como a su juez y apartarse de la falsa crehençia que tenia no solo no lo quizo hazer pero defendio y porfio las cosas de la dha. secta de los protestantes pertinazmente con todas sus fuersas y aviendose hecho con el grandes diligençias para persuadirle a la verdad vino a dezir que se reduzia a nuestra sancta fee catholica y dexaua su nueua Religion lo qual hizo el susodho. por cumplimiento y por huyr la pena que temio, quedandose ereje como antes lo era a lo que por todas las Razones dichas se puede presumir.

Y a cometido otros muchos delictos de erejia y apostasia de que protesto acusarle mas ẽ forma etc. . . .

Por tanto a V. Sª pido y suplico que avida esta mi Relaçion por verdadera o la parte que baste declare my intençion por bien prouada y el dho. hugo Vynfilde aver sido y ser ereje apostata factor y encubridor de otros y por ello aver yncurrido en sentençia de excomunion mayor y de ella estar ligad. y en perdimiento de todos sus bienes los quales manden aplicar a la camara del Rey ñro señor

y a su reçeptór en su nombre relaxando su persona a la justiçia y braso seglar etc. . . .

E presentada y leyda la dicha acusaçion fue resçeuido juram^to^ ẽ forma deuida de derecho del dicho hugo huynfilde en presençia del dicho su curador so cargo del qual prometio de dezir y responder verdad etc. . . . (f. 241b)

A la cabeça de la dicha acusaçion: Dixo qu es verdad que el a seguido la Religion de los protestantes de su tierra como lo tiene confesado avnque es baptizado peroque si lo a seguido a sido porque aquello ẽseñado y no otra cosa y se Remite a lo que tiene dicho.

Al primer capitulo de lo especial.

Dixo qu'es verdad lo conthenido ẽ'l capitulo peroque no tenia luz de las cosas de la fee catholica etc.

2. Al segundo capitulo.

Dixo qu'es verdad qu 'este confesante el tiempo que anduuo ẽ 'l nauio asistio con los demas al seruiçio y preçes etc. . . .

3. Al tercero capitulo.

Dixo que a el le forçaron a benir ẽ 'l nauio y que no es mas henemigo de catholicos ni lo era que los demas y ẽ lo demas conthenido ẽ 'l capitulo se remite a lo que tiene dho.

4. Al quarto capitulo.

Dixo que por mandado del capitan del nauio yngles salio ẽ la varca como tiene confesado ẽ sus confesiones a que se remite y que nunca ẽ su vida a robado ni maltratado a catholicos ni hecho mas de lo que tiene confesado.

5. Al quinto capitulo.

Dixo qu'es verdad que al prinçipio dixo que no queria dexar su Religion porque no sabia otra sino la de su tierra y qu 'esto dixo no repugnando a lo que se le dixo sino queriendo ser enseñado antes lo que sabia y asi despues que le ẽseñaron las cosas de la Religion catholica se reduxo a nuestra sancta fee catholica de la yglesia Romana y esto no por miedo ni fingido sino verdaderam^te^ se conuirtio a nuestra s^ta^ fee etc.

Al pie de la acus^on^ y lo demas della dixo que como pecador abra caydo en muchas faltas ẽ lo que toca a su Religion y qu'el a dho. la verdad y no sabe otra cosa que poder dezir y que si a sido malo antes de agora que pide humilm^te^ ser resçeuido a la congregaçion de los catholicos etc. . . .

En Canaria treinta dias de dizienbre etc. . . . estando

el sor Inquisidor Dor Claudio de la cueua visor desta Inq^{or} ẽ su audiençia de tarde mando traer a ella de las carçeles secretas al dicho (f. 244b)

Hugo huynfilde yngles al qual por lengua de Jorje parcar etc. le fue dicho qu'es lo que a pensado en este su negocio etc.

Dixo qu'el a dicho la verdad de todo su negoçio y que solam^{te} pide perdon de auer quebrantado su carceleria.

Preguntado en que forma le a quebrantado este y los demas presos.

Dixo como doçe dias o quinze despues que este confesante entro preso ẽ las carçeles secretas ẽ la carcel que oy esta que podra auer dos meses y medio poco mas o menos vn dia arimandose acaso pedro de herrera morisco su compañero de carçel a la puerta de rexa de adentro meneandola se abrio la çerradura y despues a cabo de dos o tres dias poco mas o menos mathias su compañero de carçel deste metio la mano por vn agujero qu' estaua junta del bastidor de la puerta entre el y la pared y puedo abrir el cerrojo de la puerta afuera qu'estaua sin llaue y con este supieron de alli adelante abrir la una y la otra y dos o tres dias antes de todo esto vn dia como entre las doce y la vna vino Guillermo Roger a la puerta de su carçel destos y hablo con ellos y la misma noche a lo que le parece boluio el dicho guillermo Roger y quito el cerrojo y estuuo tanbien hablando con ellos y desta manera vino el dicho Guillermo roger a hablalles de noche y de dia dos o tres dias antes que este y sus compañeros empeçasen a salir de su çarcel y todas las demas carçeles sino es la alta del corredorçillo tuuieron horden como podellas abrir y salir de noche y de dia y juntarse los vnos ẽ las carçeles de los otros a hablar y a çenar y entiende que algunas vezes comerian juntos a medio dia los demas avnque este confesante no lo vido ni el comio con nadie al medio dia y en todo el dicho tiempo a çenado este confesante y mathias y pedro de herrera sus compañeros de carçel en las carçeles diferentes en cada carçel vna vez la primera ẽ la carçel dende 'sta Guillermo Roger y Constantino yngleses y la misma noche çenaron con ellos Castro Verde español y Franc^{co} Luis yngles y Rodrigo flam^{co} etc y la segunda vez çenaron este confesante y los dichos sus dos compañeros ẽ la carçel del dicho Castro Verde y franc^{co} luis y Rodrigo con ellos y con el dicho guillermo Roger y Constantino que tanbien vinieron alli aquella noche y la terçera vez ẽ la carçel de Juan y Richarte yngleses qu'es en frente de la carçel deste y esto fue la noche que los sintieron que

abra doçe dias y agora se acuerda que la primera vez que sali a çenar a otra carçel fue a la carçel del dicho Juan y Richarte y entonçes tanbien estaua en aquella carçel niculas christoual y todos seis juntam^te^ con bar^me^ coello y Roberto Estrefi yngleses y vn frayle cuyo nombre no sabe todos compañeros de otra carçel que tanbien binieron a cenar alli aquella noche çenaron todos juntos y antes de la vltima noche que los sintiesen binieron todos los de las carçeles baxas que no quedo ninguno y todos juntos çenaron en el aposento deste confesante que eran catorze personas etc. . . . y sin que este y sus compañeros se juntasen supo que otros dellos se juntauan a cenar otras noches vnos con otros y finalm^te^ por todo este dicho tiempo hasta que fueron sentidos se salian de las carçeles para hablar y juntarse los vnos con los otros y los otros con los otros de noche y de dia vnas noches para çenar y otras para hablar etc. . . .

Preguntado si an hablado y comunicado entre si este y los demas todos algunas cosas tocantes a su negoçios etc. . . .

Dixo que este confesante no a dada quenta del estado de su negoçio ni sabe que los otros ayan tratado de los suyos, mas de dezir que tienen confiança que se a de tener dellos misericordia como se tiene en españa.

Preguntado que le an dicho y declarado los demas qu'estan presos asi yngleses como alemanes ẽ lo que toca a la Religion que guardan etc. . . .

Dixo que nunca se an declarado con este q^te^ ninguno de los demas presos mas de que entiende que todos quieren seguir la Religion catholica Romana porque se emplean en deprender las oraçiones.

Preguntado si despues que los sintieron la noche que tiene dicho y se puso Remedio en todas las carçeles paraque no pudiesen salir si se an hablado y comunicado desde sus carçeles los vnos con los otros hablando alto o en 'tra forma.

Dixo que despues que lo sintieron y se puso remedio ẽ las carçeles no an salido mas dellas porque no pueden y que algunas vezes desde sus mesmas carçeles se an hablado preguntandose como estauan solam^te^ etc. . . .

Preguntado si an tratado entre si algunas vezes de salirse de las carçeles y huyrse.

Dixo que nunca lo an tratado ni tenido pensamiento dello.

Preguntado si despues que les cogieron que se hablauan si se an concertado ẽ lo que an de responder en quanto a las comunicaciones que an tenido.

Dixo que no se an concertado en ninguna cosa de las que se le preguntan etc. . . .

En Canaria veinte y tres dias del mes de hebrero de mill e quiºs y nouenta y tres años ante 'l sºr Inquisºr Dºr Claudio de la cueua visºr desta Inquisºn estando ẽ su audiençia de la mañana pareçio presente.

El Dºr Alonso fiesco medico desta Inquisºn y dixo que abra diez o doze dias que este declarante visita ẽ las carçeles secretas a vn yngles llamado hugo el qual del dicho tiempo a esta parte esta ẽfermo de camaras de sangre con muy grandes pujos y dolores de vientre y gran priuaçion de sueño y otros acidentes malos y siempre a ydo empeorando avnque se le an hecho remedios y por la poca comodidad que ay de poderlos curar ẽ las carçeles conuiene que se saque dellas y lleue al hospital donde se cure con cuydado etc. . . .

(f. 248)

En Canaria veinte y tres dias del mes de hebrero de mill e quiºs y nouenta y tres años estando el sºr Inqºr Dºr Claudio de la cueua ẽ la sala del audiençia etc. . . mando traer a ella de las carceles secretas a (f. 248)

Hugo huynfel yngles etc. . . .

Preguntado por el secreto y auiso de carçeles.

Dixo que despues que la hultima vez los visitaron el alcayde y proueedor lo hazen mejor con ellos que de antes y que no sabe de ninguna cosa que sea neçesario de remediar en las carçeles ni se comunican de vnas carçeles a otras ni a este le a dado ninguno de sus compañeros recaudo ninguno para que lo de fuera etc. . . .

Al administrador del hospital de sºr san martin de canaria.

A Hugo huynfel yngles que a estado preso en las carçeles secretas desta Inqºn por estar muy enfermo en ellas an acordado los ss. Inquisres que sea lleuado a ese hospital donde mandan que sea curado con el cuydado y diligencia neçesaria conuendra que V. md. lo mande resçeuir etc. . . .

Rescibi el contenido en el dho. ospital en este dho. dia mes y año pedro alarcon. (f. 249)

En veinte y dos dias del mes de junio de mill e quis y nouenta y tres años a las ocho de la mañana boluio hugo huynfel yngles del hospital. (f. 249)

En Canaria el dicho dia veinte y dos de Junio etc. el sºr Inquisºr Dºr Claudio de la cueua etc. dixo que por quanto hugo

huynfel esta ya en salud y su causa en estado para poder estar suelto mayormte que ẽ las carçeles auia de comer a quenta del fisco que manhaua y mando que debajo de capçion juratoria ande en esta dicha çiudad teniendola por carçel y de noche se recoga a dormir al dicho hospital de donde a salido hasta tanto que halle amo con quien estar y esta causa suya se fenezca y acabe y que hallado amo bendra a dar auiso a este sancto officio etc. . . .

E luego fue resçeuido juramto ẽ forma de derecho del dicho huynfel yngles y so cargo del prometio de que tendra esta çiudad por carçel y que no saldra della ẽ sus pies ni agenos en manera alguna y que se recogera de noche ẽ 'l hospital hasta tanto que halle amo y en hallandole dara auiso y asi lo juro etc.

Jorge Pacar. Hugo Winkffelde.

[Cover] Processo contra Hugo huinfilde natural de Rotheram en yngalaterra soldado del nauio yngles llamado san gabriel.

Preso	Moniçiones 1ª 2ª 3ª.
edad 23 años	Curador y letrado licdo alfaro.
ẽ 'l hospital	accusacion a prueua.

esta ẽfiado con capçion juratoria.

Huyose con otros yngleses y flamencos. (f. 250b)

Vol. VII. 2nd Series,

Copia de vn capo de carta de los señores del conso de la sta general ynqon escripta a este sancto officio a veinte y seis de heno deste año de mil e quis y noventa y quatro. (f. 272)

Recibimos las cartas que vos el doctor Claudio escribistes al conso, en veinte y nuebe de octubre del año pasado de mil e quios y nouenta y tres y en quince, dies y seis, diez y nuebe y vte y quatro de noubre del mismo año, y vistas, y consultadas con el Rmo Sr Cardenal inqor general, a parecido que por agora hasta que otra cosa se os ordene, no procedais contra ningunos maestres, ni marineros, ni otras personas estrangeras, ni contra sus nauios ni haciendas sino fuere preçediendo informaçion de que ayan delinquido contra la fe, en los reynos de españa del Reyno esol o en estas yslas, o estando surtos los nauios en los puertos dellas y en esta conformidad despachareis las causas que ay pendientes en ese sancto offo con toda brebedad haciendo en ellas justicia y pues en esas yslas antes que fuesedes vos el doctor claudio de la cueua se auia tolerado el comercio de los estrangeros, y el gobernador que en ellas esta por su magd sabo quales son rrebeldes, y a quien a de dar lengua y trato (pues

esta a su cargo) deuierades dar quenta a su sª Rma y al consº antes de entrar en tantas prisiones de personas, y secrestos de bienes y nauios, paraque en negº de tanta considerañ se os ordenara lo que se debia haçer y principalmte con tanta descomodidad como ay en esa ynqon de hacienda y carçeles,

Joan de Oliuares.

Vol. XIII. 1st Series.

Qa Bartholome Coello ingles.

En Canaria doze dias del mes de Julio de mill e quisº y nouenta y vn años estando el señor Inqor licendo franco madaleno en su audiencia de la tarde parescio en ella sin ser llamado vn hombre del qual fue redo juramento etc.; que por descargo de su conciencia viene a dezir y manifestar en este sto officio que estando anoche despues de anocheçido este tº en casa de leonor martin muger de Juº de Tonar etc.; estaua alli asimesmo franco criado del licendo Guzman oydor de la real audiencia destas yslas el qual dixo a este tº que el licendo pº Lopez de Aldaya auia dado tormento en su casa a vn hombre que estaua preso por don Luis de la Cueua el qual en su tormento auia confesado que era yngles y herege y que andaua a rrobar por la mar y que no le dixo el nombre del Yngles etc. (f. 144)

Qª Barº Quello y Roberto Brun.

En Canaria quinze dias del mes de Julio etc.; paresio siendo llamado vn hombre etc.; y dixo llamarse:

Alonso del Corral estante en esta ysla natural de la villa de Valladolid escriuano real etc.;

Preguntado si sabe presume o sospecha la causa porque a sido llamado por este sto officio.

Dixo que no lo sabe ni presume sino es que alguna persona de la Gomera por querelle mal por negocios que alli a echo y tanbien como estaua obligdo presume puede ser por estos negocios de los escorçeses que agora trae entre manos.

fuele d cho q̃ diga y declare lo que destos escorzeses y otros estrangeros si los ay en esta ysla a entendido y sabido por alguna via y de que tierras y quantos son los que conosce.

Dixo que no sabe mas de que ante este q̃. declara pasa como escriuano el negocio del nauio escorzes llamado Sanctiago de que es maestre Roberto Brun e otros del dho. nauio e que por algunas de las aueriguaciones del dho. proceso consta que algunos de los

del dicho nauio son yngleses de la billa de Saltaxe y de otras partes como consta por el dho. proceso etc.;

Pregdo si se a procedido contra otros algunos yngleses mas de contra los del dho. nauio.

Dixo que a este que declara pasa otro proceso contra Niculas Renchin e Guillermo Hum e otros del nauio llamado Sancto Thomas que se dizen ser escorzeses y en este segundo nauio se van agora haziendo las aueriguaciones.

Pregdo si se an tomado confesiones dado algunos tormentos a alguno de los dhos. yngleses del primer nauio y en que pte. y tiempo.

Dixo que en lo que toca al dho. primero nauio llamado Sanctiago se an tomado algunas confisiones por el dho. presidente y por el licdo Pedro Lopes de Aldaya oydor de la Real Audiencia a algunos de los deste nauio y especial a barme Coello qu'es vno de los principales del dicho nauio del qual fue puesto a quistion de tormento como por el dicho proceso pareçe etc. . . .

Pregdo si en sus confisiones el dho. Coello a dho. que a sido por la mar pirata y de los rebelados y chismaticos de yngalaterra.

Dixo que entiende que no sobre que se remite al proçeso.

fulle dicho que en este sto offco. ay relaçion que en las confisiones que el dho. Coello a echo ante este to como escriuano a confesado que es yngles de naçion y aliende deso herege y pirata que andaua a robar por la mar que diga la verdad de lo que en esto ay.

Dixo que no se le acuerda que tal aya declarado pero q̃ se remite al proceso y mas de como a dho. a declarado ser yngles de nacion y otras cosas como constara por el dho. proceso.

Pregdo el dho. Roberto Brum maestre de donde a declarado ser natural ẽ sus confisiones.

Dixo que le paresce que a declarado ser escorzes y que no tiene memoria de que lugar dize que es.

Pregdo si sabe este to que el dicho Roberto Brum sea de los rebelados y chismaticos de nr̃a sta. fee catholica y que aya tenido offio. de pirata ẽ la mar.

Dixo que ẽ lo que toca al dho. Roberto Brum le paresce que por el dho. proceso consta auerse hallado en vn nauio de yngleses que en la mar robo a otro nauio de christianos y que le paresce que el suso dho. dize que tambien el andaua en el dho. nauio forçado por andar robado por yngleses; etc. (f. 145)

Qa Bartholome Coello y Roberto Brun.

En Canaria el dho. dia quinze de Julio, etc; . . . parescio siendo llamado vn hombre etc.; y dixo llamarse:

Diego del Billar Vgarte vzº desta ciudad etc.; . . .

Preguntado si sabe de alguna persona que aya echo o dicho alguna cosa que sea o parezca ser contra nra sta. fee catholica etc. . . .

Dixo que no sabe mas de que este tº fue a la ysla de Thenerife con comision del presidente desta audiençia a traer dos nauios el vno llamado la Margarita que vino de Rosco prouincia de Francia y otro que dizen llamarse Sanctiago que dezian auer venido de Escozia y que en sus declaraciones dixeron ser escozeses de cierta villa que no se acuerda el nombre los quales sospecho este tº que eran yngleses pero que no lo sabe de cierta ciençia y qu'el maestre del escozes se llamaua Roberto Brum y el que se dezia venia por sobre cargo de las mercaderias se llamaua Brme Coello los quales ẽ las confisiones que este que declara les tomo dixeron que eran escozeses y declararon en sus confisiones que tambien lo eran los marineros y paxes del dho. nauio que por todos eran diez y siete o diez y ocho y nueue (?) dellos quedaron ẽ la Laguna presos y los otros traxo a esta çiudad con los dhos. maestre y sobrecarga. . . .

. . . Pregdo si sabe este tº que alguno de los dhos. escozeses en sus confisiones aya dho. y declarado que andando por la mar a sido pirata y a andado ẽ compañia de yngleses piratas.

Dixo que vn portugues digo dos declararon en Thene que en vn nauio los auian robado vnos yngleses en cuya compañia venia el dho. Roberto y alli se hizieron ciertas aueriguaciones y consto qu'el dho. Roberto venia por contramaestre de vn pataxe yngles el qual declaro que era verdad y reconosçio a vno de los portugueses y a el otro dixo que no le conoscia y que dixo qu'el se auia hallado preste quando yngleses auian robado a el nauio do benia el dho. portugues pero que venia forçado y que a el le auian robado los yngleses yendo a escozia; etc., (f. 146)

En Canaria el dho. dia mes y ano etc. paresio siendo llamado vn hombre; etc. y dixo llamarse.

Juan Lopez procurador de la Real Audiencia destas yslas etc. . . .

Pregdo si sabe que alguna persona aya echo etc. . . .

Dixo que no sabe mas de que este testigo a sido llamado por don Luis de la Cueua gouernador y capitan general de las yslas para que fuese curador de vnos yngleses menores de hedad conrta quien procede por auer venido a estas yslas con vn nauio y que este testigo se a hallado a examinar a quatro muchachos y a vn Bar-

tholome Coello mercader y que no se acuerda del nombre de los muchachos y que en sus confesiones declararon que eran naturales del reyno de yngalaterra ellos y los demas del nauio excepto vno y que auian salido de yngalaterra auria cinco meses y que el dho. coello en dos primeras confisiones que se le tomaron auia dho. ser escozes y despues dixo ser yngles y el y todos los demas del nauio exceto vno que era escozes que era el piloto y que el nauio tambien era yngles.

Pregdo con que personas dixeron los dhos. yngleses en sus confisiones que tenian en estas yslas trato y comunicacion y a quien trayan dirigidas sus mercaderias y cuyas an confesado que son las haziendas del dicho nauio.

Dixo que Coello solamte a dho. que la hazienda que traya era de vn yngles qu'es casado ẽ la ysla de st miguel y de otro yngles que esta en yngalaterra y que no tenia trato in contrataçion con otra persona destas yslas mas de que vn Manforte que esta preso ẽ las casas del cabildo vino de las yslas de Abaxo a la de Thene. aguardar a el dho. Coello y tenelle presta la carga para poderse despachar de mandato del dho. yngles que esta en St Miguel y que en vn billete que escriuio el dho. Coello al dho. Manforte se quexaua del que por no auelle despachado el y tenido le la carga aprestada le auia subçedido el trabajo que le auia venido pero que no confeso aunque le dieron tormento que tenia otro trato ni comunicaçion con personas destas yslas y que confeso que en Thenerife se auia de cargar de vinos para la Terçera; etc. (f. 147b)

Qa Frco Amado y Herndo de Cabrera Betancor.

En Canaria çinco dias del mes de septiembre de mill e quiso y nouenta y dos años ante 'l sor Inquisor Don Claudio de la Cueua etc.; pareçio sin ser llamado etc.; vn hombre que dixo llamarse:

Matheos Moçegue vezino y natural de la ysla de Lançarote estante al preste en esta ciudad de edad de sesenta años poco mas o menos y dixo qu'el viene a dezir por descargo de su conçiencia y porqu'el fiscal deste sancto officio le dixo que tenia obligon a ello que podra auer dos años poco mas o menos que de la dicha ysla de Lançarote salieron en vna carauela Sancho de Herrera Ayala y Franco Amado escriuano vezinos ambos de aquella ysla cargada la dicha carauela de trigo para llebarla a la ysla de la madera y en el camino toparon con vn nauio yngles y tomaron los dichos yngleses la dicha carauela y ellos y a cabo de pocos dias boluieron a la dicha ysla juntamte con el nauio yngles y surgieron ẽ 'l puerto que llaman de naos asi

el nauio yngles como la dicha carauela y salto en tierra el dicho Franco Amado y tomo quatro botas de vino y ciertas vacas que no se acuerda de la cantidad y vna doçena de carneros y pan fresco y otras cosas de legunbres y este testigo vido qu'el dicho vino y vacas y carneros y pan fresco lo saco del pueblo Herdo de Cabrera Betancor familiar deste sancto officio y lo lleuo al puerto segun oyo dezir y dio a los yngleses por resgate de la dicha carabela y gente que en ella yba y que los yngleses lo resçiuieron y dexaron la dicha carabela y gente y se fueron lo qual podran dezir Juan Perdomo Betancor etc.; (f. 195)

Spanish Inquisition in the Canary Islands.
Cases relating to English Merchants.
Egerton 1512.
Confesiones de Bartholome Coello yngles preso en las carceles secretas desta Inquisicion de Canaria. (f. 29)

En Canaria nueue dias del mes de enero de mill e quiso y nouenta y dos años estando el señor Inquisidor licendo Franco Madaleno en su audiençia de la mañana mando traer a ella de las carçeles deste sancto officio a vn honbre del qual siendo presente fue resçeuido juramento en forma deuida de derecho so cargo del qual prometio de dezir verdad ansi en esta audiençia como en todas las demas que con el se tuuiere hasta ser fenesçida su causa.

Preguntado.

Dixo llamarse Bartholome Coello mercader natural de Bastable, en Yngalaterra de hedad de veinte y tres años poco mas o menos y declaro su genealogia en la manera siguiente y que antes de ayer entro preso en las carçeles deste sancto officio.

La relaçion del estado desto reo se a embiado al consejo en dos cartas la vna de nueue de março y la otra de veinte y nueue de otubre del año pasado de mill e quios y nouenta y tres y por esa no saca aqui mas de las audiençias que tocan al seruiçio del Rey nuestro señor que son las siguientes.

En Canaria treze dias del mes de dizienbre de mill e quios y nouenta y tres años estando el señor Inquisidor Dor Claudio de la Cueua Visitador desta Inquison en su audiençia de la tarde mando traer a ella de las carçeles secretas al dicho Barme Coello de nacion yngles al qual siendo presente le fue dicho qu' el alcayde a hecho relacion que este a pedido audiençia y que para esto a sido mandado traer a ella que bea lo que quiere dezir y que so cargo del juramento que tiene hecho diga verdad.

Dixo que la a pedido para dezir algunas cosas de que se a sentido muy cargado de no auellas dicho hasta agora y la vltima vez que estuuo en esta audiençia y otras antes despues que se conuirtio a nuestra sancta fee catholica estuuo para dezirlo y dexo de hazerlo por las razones que luego expresara y es que agora por este mes de dizienbre haze dos años que estando este confesante preso por orden deste sancto officio en la carçel publica desta ciudad de Canaria considerando consigo mesmo en que horden podria tener para buscar su libertad se determino en escreuir vna carta al licen^do^ Pedro Lopez de Aldaya Regente que auia sido en el audiençia real destas yslas el qual se auia ya ydo a España a la ciudad de Granada a donde fue proueydo y con el tuuo este confesante particular amistad por auerle el susodicho tomado a este confesante particular amistad y auelle hecho mucho bien en esta ciudad y resuelto en este pensamiento escriuio lo dha. carta este confesante por la qual le escreuio que le fauoreçiese alla en España de manera que el consiguiese libertad o se despachase con breuedad su causa en este sancto officio porque reçelaua que yria muy a la larga y que mas conuenia al seruiçio de Dios y del rey que fuese lleuado a España, y no se acuerda bien si demas desto le escreiuo algunas cosas otras aunque le parece que no se declaro mas y esta carta la enbio este confesante, con vn hijo del alcayde de la carçel publica donde estaua llamado Andres Martines paraque la diese al licenciado Rodrigo de Cabrera oydor de la real audiencia, al qual lo auia dexado encomendado el dicho licenciado Pedro Lopez de Aldaya y se la enbio abierta paraque el la çerrase y encaminase al susodicho, y boluiendo con la respuesta el dicho Andres Martinez a este confesante le dixo que se la auia dado al dicho licenciado Cabrera y que en su presençia la auia çerrado vn paje suyo y le auia dicho que encaminaria de muy buena voluntad, y haria qualquiera cosa que le tocase a este confesante despues de lo qual por el mes de Enero luego siguiente a los siete del que fue del año de mill e quinientos y nouenta y dos fue preso este confesante y recluydo en las carçeles secretas deste sancto offiçio y por auer enfermado este confesante fue sacado dellas a los veinte y tres de Março del dicho año y lleuado al hospital de San Martin desta ciudad adonde le pusieron en un aposento aparte a el solo, y auiendo mas de un mes que estaua en el hospital un dia çerca de la noche se entro en el dicho aposento vn soldado que por estar enfermo acudia alli a curarse y le dio a este confesante vn libro nueuo de memoria que se escriue en el con vn hierrecillo de metal y le dixo que se lo auia dado Guillermo Roger yngles que

entonces seruia a Daniel Bandama mercader vezino desta ciudad que antes auia benido de Ynglaterra con este confesante encargado a el, y le dixo qu'el dicho Guillermo le auia preguntado si sauia de vn yngles qu'estaua enfermo en el dicho hospital y que si le auia hablado y qu'el le respondio que si auia visto y que estaua en un aposento aparte por donde el pasaua pero que no le auia hablado y que si fuese menester lleualle algo a este confesante que el se lo traeria, y con esto se fue el dicho soldado sin que nadie lo biese quedando conçertado con este confesante de que boluiese por la respuesta y luego metieron lunbre en su aposento y estando solo abrio el dicho libro y bio que en el benia escripto de mano del dicho Guillermo Roger y lo leyo, y en ello le dezia qu'estaua con pena de su enfermedad y que auia benido al hospital con yntento de belle y no le auian dexado entrar y que si el dende aca podria seruille en algo que lo haria y que le hazia saber que Pedro Thomas estaua de camino para España y que le parecia que seria bien que este confesante escriuiese una carta al dicho licenciado Aldaya pidiendole que si dende alla podia ayudalle en algo que lo hiziese, y que este confesante respondiese con la mayor breuedad que fuese posible porqu 'estaua el nauio de proximo para partirse.

Visto lo qual este confesante se determino a escreuir segunda vez al dicho licenciado Aldaya y por no tener papel no poderse traer facilmente recaudo para escreuir, escriuio en el dicho libro de memoria quatro o cinco o seis hojas en español, lo mejor que este pudo aunque llebaua algo mesturado en portugues y la sustançia de lo que le escriuio fue dandole quenta de su enfermedad y de que entendia que su negocio se auia de despachar muy a la larga en este sancto officio y le pedia que de acudiese en lo que pudiese para que se diese horden de que este fuese lleuado a España porque del lleuarle se seguiria mucho seruiçio de Dios y del rey, y podria hazer al Rey mas seruiçio el solo que otro ninguno por mucha costa y por mas oculta via y que el no queria mas en premio desto que su libertad y la de su gente, y le dezia que le requeria de parte de Dios que hiziese en esto todo su posible porque importaua mucho encaresciendole esto por todas las vias que pudo para que tratase dello con ynstancia y que este confesante no descubriria lo que tenia que dezir aunque le apretasen mucho sino era al mismo Rey, o al dicho Pedro Lopez de Aldaya, y esto era en sustançia lo que contenia la carta la qual no firmo por el riesgo que podia auer de que la tomasen Yngleses en el camino y conociesen a este confesante y le subçediese mal despues a el si boluiese a Ynglaterra como

pensaua hazello y tanbien a sus compañeros con quien trataua y contrataua, y escripto en esta forma la dicha carta en las dichas hojas del libro la boluio a dar al soldado auiendo escripto en las hojas que sobrauan al dicho Guillermo Roger, dandole la orden que auia de tener en enbiar las dichas hojas al dicho licenciado Aldaya, y nunca tuuo respuesta del dicho Guillermo Roger ni supo si el soldado le auia dado el dicho libro, aunque el le auia dicho que si hasta que despues auiendo estado ya bueno, y auiendo buelto a las carçeles secretas que podra auer agora como catorce meses estando tambien preso el dicho Guillermo Roger quando uuo en las carçeles las comunicaçiones que en otras audiençias a dicho, le dixo el susodicho a este confesante como auia resçeuido el libro de memoria y enbiado las hojas que benian escritas para el dicho licenciado Aldaya cubiertas con papel sellado en forma de cartas por la via de Guillermo de Ayala o de Pedro Thomas, no se acuerda de qual destos dos, pero no sabia si se auian resceuido ni sino ni este confesante lo a sabido hasta agora antes a ymaginado que se deuieron de perder por no auelle hasta agora dicho ninguna cosa en razon dello o que Don Luis de la Cueua deuio de tomarlas porque le dixo un moço en el hospital qu'el dicho Don Luis auia tomado las cartas qu'el dicho Pedro Thomas enbiaua a España porque le impedia a el la yda y tanbien que no fuesen sus cartas. Y imagino este confesante que siendo ansi, y yendo las dichas hojas con las cartas de Pedro Thomas que las tomaria tanbien el dicho don Luis pero no sabe ninguna cosa de cierto y avnque este confesante escreuia al dicho licenciado Aldaya lo que tiene referido no lo hazia por tener buen animo a las cosas del Rey ni de la religion porque como tiene confesado el estaua entonçes herege, y biuia en la nueua religion de los protestantes de Ynglaterra, sino por pareçerle que prometiendo cosas de tanta importançia no podian dexar de mandalle lleuar a España y que lleuandole y dandole al Rey los auisos de cosas que este saue le haria md. y daria libertad a el y a su gente, o en el camino le tomarian Yngleses y con eso consiguiria su yntento.

Y avnque despues que se reduxo a nuestra sancta Fee Catholica en el tiempo que por sus confesiones consta que fue a treze del mes de Otubre deste año entendio este confesante que tenia obligaçion de dar quenta de lo que agora a dicho y de las cosas y auisos que tiene que dezir en seruiçio de Dios y del Rey Nuestro Señor a dexado de hazerlo por considerar que seria posible que se enbiase a mandar que lo enbiasen a España y si esto suçedia y este confesante

auia dicho las dichas cosas podria ser que se impidiese, y que sabiendolo el Rey antes por esta via que de su mesma boca, podria castigarle y teniendo temor de auer tenido tan gran atreuimiento que escriuiese lo que tiene dicho no auiendo de su parte ningun deseo de bien en el Rey ni proposito de acudirle en nada de lo que le prometiese si no fuese en lo que le importase a este confesante y le fuese de prouecho lo a callado y encubierto y tanbien por considerar que la carta se abria perdido y que con esto no abria que tratar de nada, pero vltimamente de seis o siete dias a esta parte considerando este confesante que estando como esta conuertido a nuestra Sancta Fee Catholica y que por esto tiene obligaçion de dezir en todo verdad, y considerando ansi mesmo que si mas tiempo callase este confesante lo que tiene que dezir podria rezultar algun daño al Rey y al reyno todo, se determino a dezir lo que pasa, y ayer por la mañana que fue dia de fiesta, le dixo al alcayde que dixese a su señoria del señor Inquisidor que conuenia mucho que le truxesen a esta audiençia para declarar todo lo que tiene dicho y mas las cosas y auisos que pensaua dezir a su Magestad y auia ofreçido si lo llebauan a España y agora las dira con diuerso (*sic*) camino y pecho del que tenia para dezirlas porque entonces como a dicho no le tenia bueno por faltar en esto lo principal que es la fee pero agora que ya Dios le a hecho md. de ponelle en este estado lo dira con muy buen animo y con muy buena voluntad como honbre qu'esta determinado a quitarse del mundo y de las cosas en que anduuo hasta que se conuirtio.

Y lo primero es, que estando este confesante en la villa de Plemua en Ynglaterra, para enbarcarse para estas yslas, por fin de Dizienbre del año de nouenta, o por el mes de Enero de nouenta y uno, le conto a este confesante Juan Nores mercader yngles, vezino de Bastable que el rey de Polonia se auia lebantado; o algunas partes de su reyno qu'estauan debajo de la sujeçion del Turco contra el Turco por lo qual el Turco hazia gran fuerça de gente para benir contra el, y que sabiendolo el Rey de Polonia se temio y escriuio a la Reyna de Ynglaterra que le fauoreçiese y ayudase en ynterçeder con el Turco que no pasase adelante con su yntento y que le hiziese aquel fauor y la Reyna de Ynglaterra escriuio al Turco açerca dello pidiendoselo muy encaresçidamente y enbiandole la carta al enbaxador que tiene en Constantinopla el qual la dio y visto por el Turco respondio a la Reyna una carta cuya copia este confesante bido y leyo y la hizo trasladar la qual le enseño el dicho Juan Nores en Plemua en casa de Juan Phelippe mercader yngles regidor de Plemua y el la auia auido en la corte de la Reyna del Conde de

Comorlon, y se leyo alli por cosa de gran contento visto qu'el Turco estaua tan de parte de la Reyna y la copia desta carta despues la hecho este confesante a la mar, o la quemo antes de llegar a Thenerife quando bino este ultimo viaje temiendose no la hallasen y lo que contenia la dicha carta era en sustançia qu'el Turco respondia a la Reyna, diziendole que auia resçeuido una carta suya por su enbaxador que reside en Constantinopla la qual era en fauor de su vasallo el Rey de Polonia y que por respecto de la Reyna y de su ynterçesion el era contento de ortorgar lo que pedia, en fauor del dicho Rey de Polonia, y que asi auia mandado detenerse un exerçito que auia seis o siete dias que yba marchando de çinquenta mill honbres y otro exerçito de otros quarenta mill honbres que auian salido de otra parte para yrse a juntar con los çinquenta mill y que todos nouenta mill honbres los tenia detenidos para que no fuesen la dicha jornada de Polonia y se hiziese lo que el Rey pedia, y que asi se haria con tal que castigase el Rey de Polonia a los que se auian reuelado contra el Turco y que no permitiese de alli adelante que de su Reyno se sacase trigo ni cables ni masteles ni poluora ni otra cosa que fuese de prouecho contra la Reyna de Yngalaterra y en fauor del Rey de España diziendo esto que toca a Su Magestad por palabras malas y escandalosas y dezia ansi mesmo que estaua muy contento con la vitoria que la Reyna auia auido contra la armada de España, y daua por ello muchas graçias a Dios Padre, y que el tenia alli aquellos nouenta mill honbres los quales con los demas que quisiese de su reyno, asi honbres como dineros y moniçiones, contra el Rey de España, diziendolo por palabras malas que a dicho estaua alli muy aparejado para cumplir todo lo que alli prometia auisandolo ella, la qual carta era fecha por el mes de Junio del año de nouenta o ochenta y nueue que desto no esta bien çierto, y la truxo vn enbaxador de Polonia que era el mesmo que auia benido de Polonia a Ynglaterra y lleuado a Constantinopla la carta de la Reyna lo qual todo contenia la dicha carta y lo demas lo conto el dicho Juan Nores diziendo que se lo auia dicho el dicho Conde de Comorlan cuyo prouedor el era, y porque, este confesante juzga este negoçio por de importançia pareçiendole que podria la Reyna de Ynglaterra quererse baler deste fauor qu'el Turco le ofreçe y con el hazer algun daño a España a dado noticia dello este confesante, mayormente si Su Magestad esta confiado en paçes o amistad con el Turco que seria grande engaño, y asi es el trato muy grande el que ay de yngleses con Constantinopla. Y por ser muy tarde dada la ora çeso esta audiençia etc. (f. 34)

En Canaria catorçe dias del mes de Dizienbre de mill e quinientos y nouenta y tres años estando el señor inquisidor Dor Claudio de la Cueua visitador desta inquisicion en su audiencia de la mañana, mando traer a ella de las carçeles secretas al dicho Bartholome Couel yngles al qual siendo presente le fue dicho qu'es lo que a pensado en este su negoçio y que so cargo del juramento que tiene hecho diga verdad.

Dixo que prosiguiendo en lo que en la audiencia de ayer tarde començo a dezir de auisos que pueden ser de importançia al seruiçio de su Magestad, declara que de todo el reyno de Ynglaterra y principalmente de Londres y de Bristol y de Antona bienen a España y principalmente a Seuilla mucha cantidad de mercaderias y para poderlas enbiar con seguridad se valen de diuersas naciones como son de flamencos alemanes y de escoçeses y bretones, y el horden que tienen para ello es, que enbian las dichas mercaderias de Yngalaterra, a la çiudad de Amburch en Alemania y a la ciudad de Estod, tambien en Alemania seis leguas de Amburch, adonde para el dicho effecto ba todos los años una flota de nauios de veinte, o veinte y çinco, o treinta todos ellos cargados de diuersas mercaderias como son paños de Londres en blanco y otros mezclas y cariseas y bayetas en blanco y anascotes tambien en blanco y en las dichas çiudades tienen los yngleses, cuyas son las dichas mercaderias, otros yngles factores suyos y tambien flamencos los quales las resçiuen y las destribuyen para diuersas partes asi de Ytalia como de España, y mas ordinario a Seuilla, a lo que este confesante sabe y en las dichas ciudades tiñen los paños y las demas mercaderias que ban en blanco y las despachan por haziendas de flamencos y con este nonbre y color las lleuan y an lleuado dende que se prohiuio el trato y comerçio con Yngalaterra y desde que an vedado ansi mesmo la ropa de Ynglaterra y entiende este confesante que oy en dia se continua y haze lo mesmo y los mercaderes qu'estan en España las resçiuen que son flamencos sabiendo como saben que son de Yngalaterra y correspondiendose con los yngleses de Londres y de las demas partes y de España, enbian los dichos mercaderes flamencos las mercaderias que los yngleses suelen lleuar de España de que tienen neçesidad como son azeytes binos de Xerez pasa y almendra y otras y suelen yr a descargar los dichos nauios algunas vezes a las dichas çiudades de Alemania y otras a Londres y otras partes de Ingalaterra y algunas vezes suelen los yngleses en la mar tomar los dichos nauios de flamencos a titulo de ser mercaderias de España las que lleuan y lleuados a Yngalaterra se halla

que son de yngleses las dichas mercaderias, o de flamencos vezinos de Londres, que los unos y los otros son hereges a lo que este confesante sabe y puede juzgar dellos y visto esto se les dan sus mercaderias y los yngleses pierden su trabajo que las an tomado en la mar todo lo qual sabe este confesante por auerlo tratado en Londres muy particularmente con cierto mercader yngles rico vezino de la ciudad de Londres que se llama Artor Jase y con otro criado suyo con quien este auia tenido particular amistad, y la razon de tratar esto tan particularmente este confesante y entenderlo fue porque trataua con el dicho mercader de hazer una compañia gruesa de manera que tuuiesen trato en Seuilla y en estas yslas de la Terçera que llaman de los Açores y no tuuo por entonçes effecto la dicha compañia porque estaua muy de partida este confesante para estas yslas quando se trato y quedaron de acuerdo de que este confesante biese la sustançia destas yslas y el aprouechamiento que en ella podia auer y que copias y generos de mercaderias se podian gastar y hecho esto se boluiesen a Yngalaterra adonde effectuarian la dicha compañia y este confesante yria a residir en Seuilla para ello como persona que se auia criado en la ysla de San Miguel y le tenian por natural della y como le prendieron çeso todo.

Y como este confesante no effectuo por entonces por el tiempo que tiene dicho su compañia no supo particularmente los nombres de los mercaderes de Seuilla ni de otra parte de España que tengan el dicho trato y comerçio con los yngleses por la via referida pero por las mesmas mercaderias se podra conoçer façilmente porque todas las cariseas son de Yngalaterra teñidas en Flandes y puestos alli sellos diferentes y doblados en diferente forma y los anascotes lo mesmo porque los que bienen del dicho lugar de Anascote en Flandes son muy pocos porque el lugar es pequeño y no ay que hazer caso de los sellos porque en Yngalaterra les ponian los dichos sellos de Anascote y las bayetas tanbien son conoçidas aunque al presente se labran en Yngalaterra las mismas bayetas que antes se solian labrar en Flandes por Flamencos que ay alla vezinos en gran cantidad en diuersas çiudades pero realmente son hechas en Yngalaterra y con lanas de alli, y tanbien los paños son muy conoçidos y las lanillas tambien son de alla la mayor parte dellas a lo que este confesante entiende y tanbien tapiçerias se hazen muchas en Yngalaterra por los mesmos Flamencos y se traen a España por el mesmo camino a lo que este confesante entiende. Y si este confesante estuuiera tan aduertido como agora y tuuiera entonçes la yntençion que agora tiene el supiera que eran los mer-

caderes flamencos qu'estan en España pero como no le importaua sabello no reparo en ello. Y asi mesmo bienen a España las dichas mercaderias y otras por la via de Samalo y de Rosco y de Morles en Bretaña porque a los dichos lugares ban muchos nauios yngleses con la dicha ropa y la benden alli, y de alli la lleuan a España por quenta de los dichos bretones y en los años passados de quatro o cinco años atras yban derechamente las mercaderias por quenta de los yngleses cuyas eran a España, lo que sabe este confesante porque en el año de ochenta y siete a lo que se acuerda por el mes de diziembre y en Enero de ochenta y ocho estaua este confesante en Rosco y en Morles y bio que vino un nauio de Yngalaterra del puerto de Lima cargado de mercaderias donde este confesante le bido y llego a Morles tres dias despues que este confesante y yba consinado a dos mercaderes yngleses que residian alli qu'el vno se llama Luis Pop y el otro Thomas Tup los quales conçertaron con Juan Calot mercader vezino de Morles qu'es honbre principal que el en su nonbre enbiase el dicho nauio yngles con lo que en el benia a la ysla de la Terçera a un sobrino suyo que alli tenia llamado Francisco Lebier natural de Morles, y hecho el dicho conçierto metio el dicho mercader breton algunas mercaderias françesas y quitaron toda la gente ynglesa que auia benido en el dicho nauio dexando solamente tres yngleses que el uno era el piloto y señor de la mayor parte del nauio que hablaua françes y se llamaua Gregorio Tral, y otro era un hijo suyo moço de catorçe años, y el tercero era carpintero de cuyo nonbre no se acuerda que tanbien hablaua frances y metieron toda la demas gente que era neçesaria en el nauio de françeses y estando aprestados se partieron para la ysla Terçera y este confesante fue, en el mesmo nauio a ella, y bio que las mercaderias que yban en el dicho nauio las resçiuio el dicho Francisco Lebier, a quien yban y alli se despacharon y destribuyeron y cargo el nauio de pastel, y se partieron y supo este confesante que auian ydo derechos a Morles y de alli a un puerto de Yngalaterra no sabe qual y el françes que fue por maestre en el dicho nauio se llamaua Juan de Lila natural de Morles a lo que este se acuerda y de los nonbres de los demas françeses no se acuerda.

Y en el mesmo tiempo que a declarado en el capitulo antes deste partio del puerto de Rosco un nauio frances qu'el capitan y señor del se llamaua por sobre-nombre Buena Ventura y no se acuerda del nombre del maestre ni de los demas. Y en el dicho nauio se lleuaron mercaderias por quenta de los dichos dos yngleses y yba en nombre del dicho Juan Calot, breton vezino de Morles, a entre-

garlas en la Terçera, al dicho Francisco Lebier y bio este confesante llegar el nauio a la Terçera y de alli le enbio cargado como benia auiendo estado en aquel puerto dos o tres dias el dicho nauio a la ysla de San Miguel y quien le enbio fue el dicho Francisco Lebier y un Baltasar Nuñez portugues vezino de la ciudad de Lisbona que residia en la Terçera y cree qu'esta ya en Lisbona otra vez y entiende este confesante qu'el principal a quien los dichos nauios benian a la Terçera no era el dicho Francisco Lebier sino el dicho Baltasar Nuñez porque el susodicho auia tenido mucha amistad en la Terçera con uno de los dos yngleses de Morles que se llama Thomas Tup, el qual biuia alli al tiempo que se prohibio la contrataçion de yngleses en aquella ysla por lo qual el se fue a biuir a Morles y asi aunque benian las dichas mercaderias con nonbre de que se diesen al dicho Francisco Lebier, entiende este confesante qu'el principal en ella era el dicho Baltasar Nuñez aunque se hazia con el nonbre del otro, todo ello por disimular que no se entendiese y este sabe este confesante porque estando en Morles por el tiempo que tiene declarado escriuio este confesante una carta a ruego del dicho Thomas Tup para el dicho Baltasar Nuñez en la qual le dezia como aquellos nauios yban de alli por orden del dicho Juan Calot breton que el acudiese a hazer en ello todo lo que pudiese y no firmo la carta de su nonbre sino de otro nonbre y le dixo a este confesante que por aquel nonbre entenderia el Baltasar Nuñez y este confesante a lo que se acuerda le dio la carta del Thomas Tup al dicho Baltasar Nuñez, y le dixo cuya era y el dicho Baltasar Nuñez dio a entender que no sabia cuya era y le dixo cuya era, y el dicho Baltasar Nuñez mostrando pesarle de que este confesante supiese lo que pasaua entre ellos a lo que entendio y en effecto el dicho nauio françes con las mercaderias fue a la ysla de San Miguel y en el fue este confesante y ansi mesmo vn criado o sobrino suyo del dicho Baltasar Nuñez el qual descargo el nauio en San Miguel y lo cargo de pastel y se partio para Morles el dicho nauio que tanbien tenia por nonbre la Buena Ventura como el sobrenombre del capitan y el dicho Baltasar Nuñez tenia por offiçio en la Terçera cobrar los derechos del almoxarifazgo en nonbre del principal almoxarife que era vezino de Lisbona y se llama, a lo que le parece, Pedro Borges.

Y estando este confesante ansi mesmo por el tiempo que a declarado que era Dizienbre de ochenta y siete, o Enero del año de ochenta y ocho a lo que se acuerda, en la dicha çiudad de Morles bio que llego a aquel puerto vn nauio

breton que no sabe del nonbre del maestre ni mas señas que dar del, y benia de San Lucar o de Cadiz cargado de binos y le dixeron a este confesante y al piloto de su nauio yngles los del nauio breton que yban con los dichos binos derechos al puerto de Bristol en Yngalaterra porque eran de vn yngles vezino de alli y bio este confesante que sin descargarse ninguna cosa del dicho nauio se partio su viage de Yngalaterra. Y por ser tarde etc. (f. 37b)

En Canaria catorçe dias del mes de Dizienbre de mill e quinientos y nouenta y tres años estando el señor inquisidor Dor Claudio de la Cueua visitador desta Inquisiçion en su audiençia de la tarde mando traer a ella de las carçeles secretas al dicho Bartholome Couel yngles al qual siendo presente se le fue dicho que es lo que a pensado etc.

Dixo que demas de lo que esta mañana yba diziendo açerca del trato que los yngleses tienen disfraçado por la via de Morles en Bretaña sabe este confesante que en la villa de Morles ay vn vezino della que se llama Jaques Caruen al qual ciertos yngleses vezinos de la villa de Lima y de la villa de Char y de la de Axmester le lleuaron a Yngalaterra para que en su nonbre y cabeça tratase y contratase en las yslas de San Miguel y en la ysal del Fayal las haziendas y mercaderias de los dichos yngleses aunque no esta bien çierto en si fue llamado para este effecto de los dichos yngleses o si el se ofreçio a ello, pero sabe muy bien este confesante y esta cierto, de que el dicho Jaques Caruen haze viages a las dichas yslas lleuando las dichas mercaderias de Yngalaterra y boluiendo otras en retorno de las que ay en las dichas yslas y esto lo sabe este confesante porque por las carnestolendas del año de nouenta salio este confesante de la ysla de San Miguel para Yngalaterra y como çinco o seis dias antes que partiesse de aquel puerto llego a el el dicho Jaques Caruen con vn nauio yngles en que el benia y otro tanbien yngles en compañia suya y en este benia vn yngles cuyo nonbre es Hut Web que quiere dezir Hugo el qual auia biuido en Morles y benia con nonbre de Françes y diziendo ser vezino de Morles diziendo ansi mesmo ambos a dos que eran compañeros y señores ygualmente de ambos nauios, y asi negoçiauan ambos juntos y dexandolos alli se partio este confesante en su nauio y se fue al puerto de Pola en Yngalaterra y a cabo de veinte dias poco mas o menos yendo este confesante hazia Londres topo en el camino en la villa de Lima, al dicho Jaques Caruen breton y estuuieron hablando y le dixo a este confesante como queria boluer luego

a la ysla de San Miguel y a la del Fayal y este confesante le dixo que como tan de priesa negoçiaua y se queria boluer tan presto y el respondio. " Estos señores mientras yo boy me tienen aprestado nauio y mercaderias para el con que me pueda boluer luego; " diziendolo por los yngleses cuyas eran las dichas mercaderias y nauios que los nonbres de los que se acuerda son Richarte Esprae, Juan Dey, Duarte Munde y Thomas Simons vezinos todos de la villa de Char, Juan Tucur y Richarte Tucur y vn fulano Brac, vezinos de Axmester, y algunos otros vezinos de Lima, que no los sabe los nonbres este confesante. Y despues supo este confesante qu'el dicho Jaques Caruen breton auia hecho el viage que a dicho a la ysla de San Miguel y supo tanbien que auia buelto a Yngalaterra y vltimamente quando este confesante partio del puerto de Plemua para benir a la ysla de Thenerife que fue por el mes de Enero del año de nouenta y uno quedaua tanbien para partir el dicho Jaques Caruen terçera vez del dicho puerto de Lima en Yngalaterra para la ysla de San Miguel o la del Fayal porque asi lo oyo este confesante y oyo dezir a diuersas personas y entiende este confesante que con el tiempo qu 'este confesante partio para la ysla de Thenerife del puerto de Plemua partio el dicho Jaques Caruen del de Lima y despues aca no sabe que a sido del, y la gente que este confesante bio que llebaua el dicho Jaques Caruen en los dos primeros nauios era ynglesa que algunos dellos hablauan bien françes y todos dezian ser françeses y todos ellos eran hereges de la secta de los protestantes de Yngalaterra y esto sabe este confesante porque el mesmo miercoles de çeniça del dicho año de nouenta auiendo salido este confesante el lunes antes de carnestolendas para yr su viage de Yngalaterra con grande tiempo que tuuieron contrario arribaron al dicho puerto de la ysla de San Miguel el dicho miercoles de çeniça y por no hechar su batel a la mar enbiaron a bordo de su nauio deste su batel los yngleses de uno de los nauios del dicho Jaques Caruen que alli estaua y no fue del nauio en que el auia ydo sino el del compañero y este confesante y Paulo Blanco yngles mercader de aquella nao en que este yba a Ingalaterra y el maestre que todos eran yngleses entraron en el dicho batel y fueron al nauio dicho en el qual estaua el maestre del y los marineros y todos aquella noche çenaron juntos y comieron dos gallinas cocidas que les auia sobrado en su nauio deste confesante el dia antes y mas carne çocida que en el nauio yngles tenian comiendola sin reçelo como persons que todos seguian la religion de Yngalaterra.

Y asi mismo declara que por el año de ochenta o ochenta y uno

se fueron dende Morles a biuir a Exçetera ciudad de Yngalaterra por ser hereges y auerse mandado que todos los que fuesen hereges en Bretaña se saliesen, y entre los que fueron fue vno vn fulano Duguel vezino de la dicha villa de Morles honbre muy rico y lleuo consigo tres hijos y lo que pudo de su hazienda y biuio en la dicha ciudad de Exçetera hasta el año de ochenta y seis poco mas o menos que murio en ella herege y quedaron en ella dos hijos suyos el vno ya honbre herege tanbien de la dicha secta, a lo que este sabe, y el otro muchacho, y estando y biuiendo alli despues de muerte el padre por el año de ochenta y siete poco mas o menos trataron con el cierto yngles vezino de Bristol llamado Thomas Alder que fuese a la ysla de San Miguel, como honbre que de naçion era françes y que lleuase vn nauio con mercaderias suyo, y asi el dicho hijo del françes cuyo nonbre es Juan Duguel fue a la ysla de San Miguel con el dicho nauio en nombre de françes y descargo alla las mercaderias y se boluio a Yngalaterra a Bristol con pastel lo qual todo supo este confesante por auerselo dicho el mesmo Juan Duguel y vn sobrino del dicho Thomas Alder que le seruia y despues desto supo este confesante que poco despues de benido de la ysla de San Miguel se auia ydo el dicho Juan Duguel a biuir a su tierra de Morles dexando a Yngalaterra lo qual oyo dezir a muchos yngleses y lo tiene por cierto que biue alla y entre algunos françeses que este confesante a conoçido, ni a vn de los mesmos yngleses no a visto este confesante ninguno de los de la religion de Yngalaterra mas observantes qu'el susodicho era.

Y tanbien sabe este confesante que por el año de ochenta y siete poco mas o menos fue de Samalo vn vezino de aquella ciudad llamado Reynaldo Potior a la villa de Lima en Yngalaterra y alli se concerto de yr a la ysla de San Miguel con vn nauio yngles y con mercaderias en el y dineros que era todo ello de vn yngles vezino de Char muy rico que se llama Guillermo Simons llevandolo encubierto y diziendo ser françes y ser las mercaderias de Samalo y en effecto fue y hizo el dicho viage y descargo las mercaderias y boluio a cargar de pastel y se bino con ello al puerto de Lima en Yngalaterra, y lo supo este confesante porque se lo dixo vn Juan Tucar criado del dicho Guillermo Simons cuyas eran las mercaderias que auia ydo en el nauio a San Miguel avnque no auia saltado en tierra, y despues desto supo este confesante que el dicho Reynaldo Potior breton se auia buelto a Samalo su tierra y entiende que alli biue.

Y en la dicha çiudad de Samalo esta y biue al presente vn fulano

Colim que le pareçe se a de llamar Richarte o Juan el qual supo este confesante en Yngalaterra por auerlo Oydo a diuersos mercaderes yngleses que en el año de ochenta y seis y ochenta y siete hizo çiertos viages a San Lucar o a Cadiz algunos dellos no sabe quantos y vno a la ysla de San Miguel, los quales viages hizo con nonbre y voz de vezino de Samalo y que alli yba y llebaua las dichas mercaderias y era el nauio siendo falso porque la hazienda que yba en el nauio era de vn yngles vezino de Bristol llamado fulano Quichinques honbre muy rico y poderoso el qual se las daua al dicho Colim paraque encubiertamente las lleuase por la dicha via oculta y supo y oyo dezir este confesante en Yngalaterra que auia descargado las dichas mercaderias en las dichas partes y buelto con mercaderias de alla adonde el dicho yngles le ordeno.

Y en las yslas de la Palma y de Thenerife se tomaron dos nauios por Don Luis de la Cueua gouernador destas Yslas que del de Thenerife era mercader Carlos Correa vezino de Morles en Bretaña y el nauio se llamaua La Margarita y el de la Palma se llamaua San Juan pero no sabe este confesante del nonbre del mercader ni maestre mas en los dichos naiuos binieron cantidad de sardinas los quales sabe este confesante que son todas de Yngalaterra porqu'es mercaderia conoçida de alla y no de otra parte y porque el maestre del nauio de Carlos Correa y el mesmo Carlos Correa la dixeron a este confesante que las sardinas que auian traydo en su nauio las auian traydo de Plemua en Yngalaterra, a Rosco y alli las auian cargado y que trayan ansi mesmo vnas cariseas azules de Yngalaterra, por lo qual y por auer este confesante hablado en Thenerife con el maestre o mercader del dicho nauio San Juan que tomaron en la Palma cuyo nonbre no sabe y auer visto qu'el susodicho hablaua yngles tan bien como este confesante sospecha y sospecho entonçes que los susodichos trayan a estas yslas mercaderias de Yngalaterra porque tienen muy grande trato los de Samalo y los de Rosco en Yngalaterra yendo publicamente nauios a Yngalaterra y biniendo a los dichos lugares nauios yngleses. Y por ser muy tarde etc.

(f. 41)

En Canaria quinze dias del mes de Dizienbre etc.; . . .

Y como dixo este confesante atras los dichos yngleses negoçian tratan y contratan en España y en estas yslas por la via d'escoçeses biniendo en nonbre y cabeça de los dichos escoçeses las mercaderias y nauios siendo real y verdaderamente mucha parte dello de yngleses que se les dan por serles a ellos prohuido el trato y a los escoçeses no y en particular se acuerda este confesante que por los años de

ochenta y siete y ochenta y ocho y ochenta y nueue estando este confesante en la ysla de San Miguel bio que bino el puerto della dos a tres vezes Guillermo Escot natural y vezino d'Escoçia y truxo mercaderias en vn nauio suyo escoçes que tenia, y el ultimo viage truxo dos nauios el susodicho y otro nauio yngles que auia comprado en Londres y la gente que en ellos benia era mezclada de escoçeses y yngleses avnque todos con nonbre de escoçeses y supo entonçes este confesante que la hazienda que benia en los dichos nauios era de yngleses vezinos de Londres; etc.

Y por el año de ochenta y nueue y nouenta bino a la dicha ysla de San Miguel tres viages que lo bio este confesante Jorge Faused natural escoces y vezino d'Escoçia con mercaderias y hazienda de Richarte Doderech, yngles vezino de Bastable en Yngalaterra y regidor de alli, y de otros yngleses vezinos de la dicha villa saliendo siempre del dicho puerto de Bastable con la dicha mercaderia y boluiendo de San Miguel con el retorno al dicho puerto y tanbien al de Bristol; etc. . . .

Y por el año de ochenta y siete y ochenta y ocho bio este confesante que bino dos viages a la dicha ysla de San Miguel, estando este alli, Archebal Dasan escoçes de naçion cargado de ropa y mercaderias del dicho Jorge Columor yngles vezino de la ciudad de Londres y de otros vezinos de alli yngleses y dio en la dicha ysla de San Miguel y tanbien en la de la Terçera las mercaderias a Juan Renquin que residia en San Miguel; etc.

Y despues de lo conthenido en el capitulo antes deste por principio del año de nouenta y vno por el mes de Abril o Mayo bino al puerto de Sancta Cruz de la ysla de Thenerife, el mesmo nauio de Archebal Dasan y en el vino por cabeça Nicolas Renquin hermano del dicho Juan Renquin de quien atras tiene dicho el qual Nicolas Renquin es yngles de naçion natural de Bristol y criado del dicho Jorge Columor vezino de Londres y bino a esta ysla de la de San Miguel cargado con algunas mercaderias de Pedro de Vchales y otros vezinos de la ysla de San Miguel segun supo este del dicho Nicolas Renquin y Don Luis de la Cueua gouernador destas yslas tomo el dicho nauio y lo que en el benia por auerse entendido traer yngleses en el nauio con nonbre de escoçeses y avnque aqui se proçedio por el dicho Don Luis contra el dicho Nicolas Renquin no se pudo aueriguar que fuese yngles sino escoçes y asi avnque le tomaron el nauio y hazienda se libro el y se fue.

Y demas de los nauios que este confesante tiene declarado que

an benido a la dicha ysla de San Miguel con nonbre de escoçeses siendo de Yngalaterra y lo que en ellos benian an benido tanbien otros de que en particular no se acuerda quales sean y tanbien sabe que a España ban los dichos nauios escoçeses con el mesmo engaño; etc., . . . y sabe que los dichos escoçeses traen pasaportes del Rey d'Escoçia etc.; y no sabe este confesante si eran falsos los dichos pasaportes pero presume que pueden sello porque todos quantos sellos quisieren hazer en Yngalaterra los haran con façilidad y este confesante hizo algunos dellos con que sello sus paños y mercaderias que truxo y sabe que los mercaderes que por las dichas vias tratan en España tienen sellos de Françia y d'Escoçia y de Flandes para las mercaderias y las sellan con ellos y asi no ay que hazer mucho caso de los dichos pasaportes porque aun quando fuesen verdaderos del Rey de Escoçia, ay tanta façilidad en darlos que los deuen de dar por qualquier ynterese quanto mas que si ellos son uerdaderos lo que debajo dello se trata es falso.

Y vltra de los engaños que a referido que se hazen con diuersas naçiones ay otro y es que los mesmos nauios yngleses con mercaderias y gente ynglesa fingiendo ser escoçeses y que bienen d'Escoçia an benido a las yslas de Abajo y bienen y tratan y contratan en ellas con mucha libertad; etc.

Y en particular se acuerda de que Thomas Esteuan yngles vezino de la çiudad de Londres bino con el dicho engaño a la dicha ysla de San Miguel dos vezes; etc, y en los dichos viages truxo mercaderias de Londres de los dichos columor y sus compañeros y las entrego al dicho Juan Renquin y boluio a cargar de pastel y se fue con el a Londres y demas destos dos viages estando este confesante en Yngalaterra supo por cosa çierta que el dicho Thomas Esteuan auia hecho otros viages a las yslas de San Miguel y las demas de aquellas de la Terçera.

Y estando este confesante en Yngalaterra en la villa de Plemua por el mes de Agosto del año de nouenta supo que de aquel puerto de Plemua salio entonçes vn nauio de vn hermano del dicho Juan Renquin que biue en Plemua cargado de mercaderias del dicho Jorge Columor y de sus compañeros y que fue a la ysla def Fayal en las Terçeras con nonbre de escoçeses; etc. (f. 44b)

. . . Dixo qu'este confesante a dicho muchas cosas contra vn Juan Renquin, o Juan Juanes, que reside en la ysla de San Miguel y en las demas de las Terçeras açerca de yrle a el cantidad de nauios yngleses ellos y las haziendas que en ellos ban con diuersos

engaños y avnque a dicho que sus hermanos del dicho Juan Renquin son yngleses de naçion no a dicho lo que a el toca y es qu'el susodicho es auido y tenido en las dichas yslas de la Terçera y en muchas partes d'España donde a tratado y principalmente en Lisbona por escoçes y por tal se trata y realmente no es sino yngles natural de Bristol hijo de vn barbero y çurujano de alli y a sido vezino en Londres y por el año de ochenta y seis o ochenta y siete poco mas o menos bino el de Yngalaterra a la ysla de San Miguel y es el susodicho fauoresçido de muchos señores principales del reyno de Portugal que le fauoreçen por entender que es escoçes y le an prendido dos o tres vezes y secrestadole los bienes diziendo ser yngles y que lo son las mercaderias que le bienen y que se auia librado con fauores mostrando recaudos de como era escoces hechas en Escoçia los quales no sabe este confesante si eran falsos o verdaderos pero sabe, çierto que lo que contenian era falso porque real y verdaderamente el es yngles como a dicho y criado y factor de los yngleses; etc.

Y por el año de ochenta y nueue se acuerda este confesante que demas de lo que tiene dicho bino vn nauio yngles a la ysla de San Miguel en el qual benia por mercader vn yngles llamado Juan Alder natural de la çiudad de Londres y bezino de Bristol y truxo en el dicho nauio cantidad de mercaderias de Thomas Alder su tio de quien tiene dicho y el dicho Juan Alder se llamo alli Juan Andreson; etc.

Y ansi mesmo an ydo y entiende este confesante que todabia yran muchos nauios de yngleses a la dicha ysla de San Miguel y a la del Fayal con mercaderias de Yngalaterra y tienen grande contrataçion en esto y en lleuar pastel de aquellas yslas a Yngalaterra lo qual hazen fingiendose ser françeses y estos an sido tantos en el tiempo que este confesante estuuo en aquellas yslas que no lo sabe dezir.

Y este trato de los yngleses en aquellas yslas sospecha este confesante que lo saben muchas personas y lo disimulan y en particular sabe que Pedro de Vchales yngles vezino de la dicha ysla de San Miguel en cuya casa a este confesante biuido siete o ocho años hasta que este confesante salio de aquella ysla la vltima vez que es honbre rico y muy acreditado con los yngleses sabe el susodicho muy bien el trato de los yngleses asi el que tienen embiando las haziendas con escoçeses como biniendo ellos mesmos en nonbre de escoçeses y de françeses y este lo sabe este confesante porque como persona que tanto tiempo estuuo en su casa bio diuersas vezes benir a su

casa toda la gente que atras a nonbrado asi de yngleses como escoçeses que benian con nonbres fingidos o la mayor parte dellos y tratarlos y resçeuir de las mercaderias de algunos y corresponderse con los yngleses de diuersas partes de Yngalaterra, escriuiendole ellos a el, y respondiendoles el a ellos, y algunas cartas eran de mano de este confesante porque el escriue muy mal, que por auer muchos años qu'esta alli si le a oluidado el escreuir en yngles; etc.

. . . Y en la ysla del Fayal qu'es vna de las de los Açores biue vn yngles que se llama Juan Ybere natural de Char casado con vna portuguesa el qual a sabido este confesante por diuersas vias que tiene trato y contrato en Yngalaterra lo qual oyo este confesante en la ysla de San Miguel y despues en Yngalaterra y estando en Toposaneto en Yngalaterra topo con vn hermano suyo llamado Josephe Ybere y le dixo a este confesante que era recien benido de la ysla del Fayal a donde el residia con su hermano y qu'estaua de camino para yrse a otro puerto a bender el pastel que auia traydo y negoçiar de boluerse y supo este confesante de çiertos yngleses vezinos de Char que le enbiauan mercaderias al dicho Juan Ybere a la dicha ysla del Fayal y que los que las llebauan eran yngleses so color de françeses.

Y en la misma ysla del Fayal ay vn portugues llamado Francisco Hernandez a lo que se acuerda el qual tiene el mesmo trato en Yngalaterra que los demas enbiandole hazienda yngleses y yendo el mesmo a Yngalaterra; etc.

Preguntado si los dichos yngleses sabe este confesante que acostunbran a yr a España o a Portugal fingiendose ser françeses, o de otra naçion. Dixo que nunca tal a sabido antes entiende que no ban a ninguna de las partes que se le preguntan por temerse de que se biue con mas recato que en las dichas yslas y que seran conoçidos.

Y en la çiudad de Lisboa sabe este confesante que esta vn portugues llamado Bernardo Luis qu'es honbre rico y muy conoçido y tiene compañia con vn Pedro Freire que entiende este confesante que es su hermano tanbien vezino de Lisbona los quales ambos an tenido grande contrataçion en Yngalaterra y en particular sabe este confesante que por los años de ochenta y seis y ochenta y siete hizo el susodicho çiertos viages no sabe si fueron dos o si fueron tres dende Londres a la çiudad de Lisbona con vn nauio grande yngles llamado El Leon Colorado y en el lleuo cantidad de mercaderias mucha de Jorge Columor de quien atras tiene dicho y de otros mercaderes yngleses de Londres y supo este confesante porque ansi se le oyo dezir al dicho Jorge Columnor que entraua en

Lisbona publicamente con el dicho nauio yngles y gente ynglesa en el· y bandera ynglesa tendida todos los dichos viages porque tenia para ello lisençia del Marques de Sancta Cruz y le conto ansi mesmo qu'el vltimo viage que auia sido en el año de ochenta y siete a lo que le pareçe se auia buelto el maestre yngles con la dicha nao y con la gente toda a Yngalaterra por temor que tuuieron de que los tomasen respecto de auerse muerto el Marques de Sancta Cruz y qu'el dicho Bernardo Luis se avia quedado en Lisbona y nunca mas auia correspondido a los yngleses con su hazienda que vltimamente truxo que era mucha sino que se auia quedado con ella que segun dio a entender el dicho Jorge Columnor era la mayor parte de su hazienda quejandose mucho del.

Y tanbien es publico y notorio en Yngalaterra que de Yrlanda siendo como es subjeta a la reyna de Yngalaterra y ser los obispos y presidente y audiençias y gouernadores y presidios todo de yngleses y la tierra poblada dellos, bienen a toda España publicamente y tratan y contratan espeçialmente en San Lucar y en Cadiz y en Vizcaya y esto solamente sabe en lo que toca a Yrlanda. Y por el año de nouenta yendo d'España vn nauio yrlandes del puerto de San Lucar a lo que le pareçe topo con vn nauio yngles en la mar el qual por ser mas poderoso lo tomo y entrando dentro a buscar el dicho nauio yrlandes hallaron çiertas cartas que no supo este confesante cuyas eran ni de que parte ni se dixo en Yngalaterra por las quales cartas lleuaron el nauio a Plemua y las cartas y la persona que las traya lleuaron por tierra a Londres y vistas las cartas mandaron benir a la corte a Don Juan Parat que era presidente en Yrlanda a lo que a este la pareçe y benidole prendieron a cabo de quatro o cinco dias y se dixo publicamente en Londres que su prision auia sido porque por aquellas cartas se auia sabido qu'el dicho Don Juan queria dar entrada a los Españoles en Yrlanda, o en Yngalaterra por çierta parte no esta bien çierto este confesante en qual de las dos partes era, y se dixo qu'el negaua avnque le mostraron las cartas y prendieron tanbien por lo mismo a vn sacerdote que no sabe de que naçion era mas de que era yngles o yrlandes el qual tenia consigo en Yrlanda el dicho Don Juan y luego que fue traydo preso el sacerdote se supo que auia confesado que auia cinco o seis años que confesaua y dezia missa al dicho Don Juan y que era verdad lo de las cartas y en este tiempo se bino este confesante a Thenerife este viage vltimo y despues d'estar este preso en las carçeles deste sancto offiçio supo de vn compañero suyo de carçel que fue Roberto Estrefi yngles o de Hugo otro yngles que se prendio entonçes que

auian condenado a ahorcar al dicho Don Juan y que entendia que se auia executado sentençia y esto es lo que sabe de Yrlanda.

. . . . . .

Pero agora se a acordado que demas de lo que tiene dicho supo este confesante, estando en Yngalaterra, que vn nauio yngles que bino a la ysla de San Miguel so color de françes, de que era mercader Juan Jordan yngles, que es llamaua por nonbre françes Juan Hordal, en el año de ochenta y nueue a la yda a la ysla de San Miguel topo en el camino vna carauela portuguesa y la tomo y enbio a Yngalaterra y el se bino su viage de San Miguel donde descargo su mercaderia y cargo de pastel y se boluio a Yngalaterra.

Y por Enero del año de nouenta yendo este confesante en vn nauio de yngleses de que era maestre Thomas Simons que auia benido alli con nonbre de françes supo qu'estando el dicho nauio en aquel puerto de San Miguel con vna tormenta que bino se lebanto del puerto mientras pasaua la tormenta y andando ansi topo con vn nauio, que benia de Yndias no sabe de que lugar, y lo tomaron y enbiaron a Yngalaterra y çesada la tormenta se boluio al puerto de San Miguel a acabar de tomar la carga que les quedaua y este confesante entonçes entro en el nauio y a cabo de seis o siete dias que nauegaua lo contaron los del nauio todo lo que pasaua y bio vna espada de vn español de los que auian tomado y vna taça de plata la qual le dio el maestre a Paulo Blanco mercader que yba en el dicho nauio que es yngles vezino del puerto de Antona y benia a San Miguel con nonbre de françes. (f 50b, etc.)

En Canaria veinte dias del mes de dizienbre de mill e quinientos y nouenta y tres años; etc. . . . Y asi mesmo se acuerda este confesante de auer visto en la yglesia de Bastable a Jorge Faused de quien atras tiene dicho al qual este confesante tiene por herege como a los demas que tiene dicho y en quanto a lo que este confesante pensaua hazer si su Magestad se fiara del conforme a lo que este confesante auia prometido era que pensaua ofreçerle de que yria a Yngalaterra y traeria de alla artilleria de la que alli se haze de hierro colado y traeria ansi mismo cables y xarçia y otras moniçiones y otras cosas de que vuiese falta en España y le pensaua tanbien ofreçer de darle auisos de todo lo que pasase en Yngalaterra y en todo ello este confesante no proçedia con buen pecho ni animo y lo hazia por librarse a si y a su gente y entiende sin dubda que si se biera en Yngalaterra que no compliera nada de lo que pro-

metia y en caso que el truxera alguna de las cosas de muniçiones que a dicho truxera cosas que antes truxeran daño que prouecho y que quando las vuieran menester hizieran falta y pudieran ser en mucho daño del rey, y en lo que toca a dar auisos no diera ninguno que le estuuiera bien a España y mal a Yngalaterra, antes en todo lo que dixera mentira porque pretendia hazer falsedad y no se acuerda de otra cosa; etc.

Y luego hincado de rodillas y puestas las manos dixo que en todo esto que a hecho en offensa de Dios Nuestro Señor y de Su Magestad pide perdon etc. (f. 51b)

Egerton, 1512,
24 de Henº. 1594. (f. 24)

Auiendosenos ordenado por V. Sª en carta de nueue de nouienbre de nouenta y dos que se remitiese a la Inquisºn de seuilla a bartholome coello yngles preso en las carçeles secretas desta Inquisºn respondimos en dos cartas la vna de nueue de março y la otra de veinte y nueue de otubre del año pasado de nouenta y tres, haziendo en ambas larga relaçion a V. Sª del estado desta causa—despues de lo qual estando conclusa diffinitiuamente para boluerla a ber y determinar, pidio audiençia y con grande demostraçion de buen zelo declaro auer escripto çiertas cartas al licendº aldaya oydor de granada con quien tuuo amistad siendo Regente en esta audiençia y en ellos le pidio con mucha instancia diese orden como de aqui le mandasen lleuar a españa porque tenia cosas de mucha importançia de que dar auiso a su magestad y otras en que el le podia seruir por su persona, que serian muy vtiles a todo el Reyno, encaresciendo esto con palabras preñadas para obligar a que en todo caso le lleuasen. Y que avnque entonçes no lo auia hecho con buen animo, antes pretendiendo engañar a su magestad y hazer el daño que pudiese en todo lo que del se fiasen por ser como en aquella sazon era herege de la secta de calbino, que agora que ya se auia reduçido a nuestra sancta fee catholica y estaua desengañado de los herrores que hasta aqui auia tenido, deseando solamente saluar su alma queria dezir y declarar con pecho e yntençion de catholico muchas cosas que sabia al seruicio de su magestad, y bien destos Reynos porque en algunas dellas podriar ser peligrosa la tardança, y asi fue declarando muy menuda y particularmente, todo quanto sabia en la materia referida con la mayor claridad, y distinçion que fue posible hasta que dixo no saber ninguna otra cosa

que poder dezir, todas las audiencias que sobre esto hizo enbiamos con esta a V. Sª, paraque vistas se ordene en todo lo que mas convenga. En estas yslas entendemos que se verifican muchas de las cosas que este Reo dize quanto a los engaños de que vsan los yngleses para tratar y contratar en ellas, y saber y tener auiso de todo lo que se haze porque son aqui muy ordinarios los nauios de flamencos, alemanes, esçoceses, françeses, y bretones, y estos son todos los que nombra por cuya mano y con cuya sonbra dize hazer los dichos engaños y bese euidentemente ser ansi porque las mas de las mercaderias que traen son conoçidamente de yngalaterra, sin otras muchas cosas y sospechas que se ofreçen harto fuertes.

El auerse hecho estas declaraçiones por bartholome coello obliga a no enbiarlo sin nueua orden de V. Sª pues çesa la causa que vuo para mandarle lleuar, mayormente estando su causa en estado de auerse de resçeuir a reconciliaçion en aucto publico de la fe lo qual no podra ser en muchos dias por los muchos negocios que ay a que acudir. V. Sª proueera en ello lo que fuere seruido, a quien supplicamos mandesenos enbie con breuedad la resoluçion de lo que se aya de hazer en tocante a los bienes que este reo truxo a este ysla, y le fueron secrestados por don luis de la cueua gouernador destas yslas etc.

El Dor Claudio de la Cueua.

APPENDIX

NOTE A. TRADE TO BRAZIL.—The account of these numerous voyages affords an interesting example of the complicated trade developments of the late sixteenth century. Brazil had at first been a possession less valued by Portugal than the spice countries of the East. In the negotiations between England and Portugal culminating in the treaty of 1576, there was no mention of Brazil; and as late as 1582 (after the annexation of Portugal by Spain), the English Council regarded Brazil as one of the countries where English merchants had a right to trade. (*Sim. Trans.*, pp. 385–6, No. 275). Many English merchants on their part were anxious to take advantage of this presumed right. By 1578 an English merchant, John Whithal, was already established in Brazil, and wrote full instructions for a voyage thither to his London correspondent, Richard Stapers (*see* Introduction). This letter, which appears in *Hakluyt's Voyages* (Hakluyt Soc. ed., Vol. XI, pp. 26–30), directs that the ship shall come by way of the Canaries; but, unlike the vessel mentioned in the text, it is *not* to touch at Guinea. The ship demanded by Whithal was to lade for the Canaries with Hampshire and Devonshire Kersies, which were to be sold in the islands and replaced by wine, coloured Cordovan skins, and oil. For Brazil, the lading (taken in at London) was to be holland, and other textiles, iron, hardware, glass, hats, etc., with spices and Canary pitch. A somewhat similar list appears in a "Note of all such wares as are good and necessary for the parts of Brazil" in the *Dom. St. P.* for 1582 (Vol. 153, No. 43); though this includes many more small articles of haberdashery and so forth.

The Spanish jealousy of this growing trade was, however, soon awakened; and was stimulated by the fear that the traffic would provide the English with an excellent cover for their plundering expeditions to the West Indies.

Mendoza proposed that all English ships taken off the coasts of Brazil or the West Indies should be sent to the bottom. The case of the "Mignon," of London, which was taken off the coast of Brazil in 1581, created much excitement; the English Government maintained her right to trade there, the Spaniards denied it. She suc-

ceeded at all events in landing several men on the Brazilian coast, whose presence probably facilitated English trade (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 302, 356, etc.). From this time there are frequent notices of English ships sailing for Brazil, either for trade or plunder. Hence the account of the voyage given in the text is probably correct. The most notable point about it is the suggestion of touching at Angola to take in negroes for Brazil. Up to this time the English seem to have had far less share in the slave trade between Guinea and Brazil than in that between Guinea and Hispaniola. In none of the lists quoted are negroes mentioned as good merchandise for Brazil; but by 1589, according to the statement in *The Adventures of Andrew Battel of Leigh* (Hakluyt Soc. pub., E. G. Ravenstein ed., 1901, p. 4), Spanish ships traded every year between Brazil and Angola; and in 1587 the French Governor sent a ship to the Mina and Brazil (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 100, No. 101). Possibly the development of the Brazilian trade in sugar rendered a supply of labour necessary, and so gave an impetus to the slave trade. Moreover England, up to the time of the annexation by Spain of Portugal, had some hesitation in trading to Guinea; hence the Portuguese, lords both of Guinea and Brazil, probably had the whole Brazilian slave trade in their hands. In this point of view it is significant that both the ship mentioned in the text and that set forth by the governor of Dieppe were manned by Portuguese. Thus the annexation of Portugal not only gave other countries the opportunity of trading to Portuguese colonies, but in the persons of Portuguese refugees supplied them with pilots and traders, already expert in the traffic, and able to carry it on with small risk of detection.

Note B. Supply of Provisions to Heretics.—This scruple on the part of the Spaniards as to supplying heretics with provisions was by no means general. Export of oil and wine from Spain to England continued throughout the Spanish War; and the English on their part had so little scruple in supplying "Papists" that in 1593 Burghley's correspondent in Bayonne declared that English, Irish and Scotch would load corn in England as if for the south of France, and discharge it in Spain (*Hist. MSS. Com. Hatfield MSS.*, vol. IV, p. 347). Perhaps the nearest parallel among Englishmen to the moral indignation expressed by this witness, appears in the anger to which certain English traders gave vent at the conduct of one Richard Wheeler. The latter was accused of having obtained undue influence with the Sultan by furnishing him with

ordnance, muskets, swords and so forth, "which," declared the merchants, "we will not do, being an un-christian thing." (*Lansd. MSS.* 112, No. 30).

NOTE C. BARBARY AMBASSADOR.—The identity of this person is hard to discover. No ambassador to any part of North Africa about this time had any name even distantly resembling "Harbas." Harborne, the English ambassador to Constantinople, had at this time returned to England. The whole story of the ambassador may be mere fiction on the part of the sailors, designed to afford them the security of being part of an ambassador's suite; but just previous to this time, agents and messengers had been sent to the Barbary States—especially Morocco—by Queen Elizabeth on behalf of Don Antonio. Thus Edward Prynne was sent to Constantinople in 1590 and thence to Morocco, where he remained for about a year. (*St. P. Foreign. Barbary States, Morocco*, vol. XII, No. 31); and in 1589 Don Antonio sent an Englishman from Cascaes to Barbary (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 550, No. 554). It is just possible that we have here a trace of some similar negotiation; but perhaps the most probable conjecture is that this unknown "Harbas" was not an ambassador at all, but an agent or consul for the merchants trading to Barbary. The latter, who had been incorporated in 1582, found their trade attended with considerable risk. Thus Prynne in Morocco reported that three English merchants had been killed and no redress had been granted; and this "Harbas" may have been sent to remonstrate on the subject of these and other enormities.

NOTE D. EVIDENCE OF HANS ANBURQUE.—It may seem superfluous to comment on any acts of piracy committed by any persons whatsoever in the year 1592; but it is interesting to note that at this time England was involved in a dispute regarding contraband of war with the Hansa merchants. The Privy Council declared that the Armada could never have been launched but for the provisions, materials for shipbuilding, and general munitions of war supplied by the Hansa towns; and remonstrated pretty sharply with the Alderman of the Steelyard, declaring that the English were justified in confiscating ships and goods of such a nature intended for Spain. They had already put their theory into practice by seizing a large number off the coast of Portugal in 1590. The Hansa merchants who had preserved their neutrality in European

quarrels complained of this conduct on the part of the English; but the Privy Council stuck to its point and declared the following goods in our modern phrase, "contraband of war": cables, masts, anchors, cordage, pitch, tar, tallow, timber, ordnance, copper, lead, arms, corn, bacon and canvas (*Admiralty Court* Act Book 21, February 27, 1591–2). As a large proportion of these goods were the produce of the Baltic provinces, it will be seen that the Hansa merchants were hard hit; so were the Irish, who also traded with Spain in timber and provisions; and so, too, were the English themselves, who were reputed to produce the best ordnance in Europe, and who smuggled it over to Spain oftener than was consistent with patriotism (*see Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 239, No. 92, *Cal.*, p. 73, No. 92, etc.); but the chief offenders were certainly the Hansa merchants, and English sailors therefore no doubt viewed the plunder of a German vessel not merely as a congenial occupation, but as a patriotic duty.

Note E. Scotch Trade.—The trade of Scotland with Spain and its dependencies may have received an impetus from the Anglo-Spanish War; at all events it was exceedingly active during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Scotch exports to Spain usually consisted of coarse cloths and provisions, and these sufficiently resembled English exports to facilitate the use by the English merchants of this safe channel for the transmission of their goods. One William Hunter was a well-known Scotch agent in Spain; he called himself the banker of the King of Scotland (*Sim. Trans.*, 1587, p. 62, No. 62); and in 1588 it was said that Scotch ships were trading from Norwich to Spain in his name, loaded with English goods (*ib.*, p. 280, No. 286). In 1589 the Earl of Cumberland found the "Falcon," of London, at the Azores trading under the name of its Scotch pilot (Raymond Beazley, *Voyages and Travels:* vol. II., p. 188), and in 1588 two Scotch ships with Scotch crews left London for San Lucar and Cadiz, carrying goods belonging to Richard Sapers, presumably Richard Stapers, the well-known Turkey and Brazil merchant (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 186, No. 191). The trade was encouraged on the English side by licences to the Scotch to export cloth and corn; and at a later date the Spanish Government so far yielded to the exigencies of commerce that in 1593 they are said to permit Scotchmen to carry English goods to Spain (*Hat. MSS.* IV., pp. 338, 350). Hence a Scotch ship trading to the Canaries was probably an every day matter; and that it should

be employed in carrying English goods was likely to the verge of certainty.

NOTE F. COLE'S CONFESSION.—Bartholomew Cole's account of the English trade with Spain is fully borne out by other evidence. The war had been a great blow to English merchants, especially to those of the West Country. In 1586 England was said to have been almost deprived of trade by the war (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 651); and the next year Bristol and Southampton were said to be suffering heavily from loss of trade (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 402, Nos. 5, 11, 12). The loss was serious to both parties—especially to Spain. England sent thither corn, textiles, lead, and skins; and received fine leather, oil, wine, raw silk, alum, and fruit in exchange (*Dom. St. P.*, 1585, vol. 185, No. 102). Thus as far as concerns the actual commodities received, English trade was more necessary to Spain than Spain's to England; on the other hand, Spain was one of England's best customers for her chief manufactures, and thus the impulse on both sides towards trade was too strong to be entirely thwarted by war. Already in 1587 various merchants of Bristol were accused of supplying Spain with provisions (*Dom. St. P. Cal. Add.*, p. 232, No. 62). In 1588 an English merchant of London was reported to have received three cargoes of oil and wine from St Lucar (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 220–21, No. 229). The spies in the English service, such as Bernaldo Luis and Hector Nunez, constantly cloaked their communications under the guise of trade (e.g., *Sim. Trans.* 1588, p. 253, No. 255). Richard May, one of the principal merchant adventurers, was mentioned as one of those carrying on a correspondence with Portugal and Flanders to the injury of Spain (*Sim. Trans.* 1588, p. 326, No. 331). As time went on this traffic received something even resembling encouragement from the respective governments. In 1589 Don Alonso, of Placentia, was reported to have bought the right to export any English goods except cloth to Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal. Add.*, p. 288, No. 73). In 1594, Michael Stanhope was licensed to bring in Spanish wool to make Spanish felts (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 256), and in the same year the Book of Rates mentions Spanish iron, green woad, and Seville oil as among the goods on which an increased duty might reasonably be expected to secure an increased revenue (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 250, No. 30); thereby suggesting that the trade in Spanish produce was recognized as normal. This might well be, seeing that in 1591 ninety-eight English merchants were recorded to have freighted ships

to ports within the Straits, which included Malaga and Alicant (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 63, No. 62).

Still such trade was hazardous; and to avoid this hazard the English merchants found it expedient to employ foreign vessels. The use of Scotch vessels and crews in this connexion has already been noticed (*Note E*). Trade through Germany was another obvious resource. The wars in the Netherlands had caused the merchant adventurers to seek their chief markets for cloth at Hamburg and Stade, whence, as Cole alleges, it was frequently carried to Spain. The colouring of cloth—or disguising it by dyeing—was a frequent practice in Germany, and one which caused great complaint; but the English manufacturers, whose market for cloth would otherwise have been cut off, must have found considerable advantage from it. Besides cloth, corn and munitions of war were also transported from England in the face of the proclamation which made such trade treasonable. It was said that "every day" English ordnance arrived in Spain by way of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburg (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 103). In England itself, German ships were often laden with goods which were supposed to be intended for Italian ports, but were really discharged in Spain. Foreign merchants and ship masters in England were frequently among the exporters. In 1592 Hans Castel loaded his ship with herrings, wheat and ordnance at Harwich for Spain (*ib.*, p. 246). Pilchards and butter were shipped from the West of England to Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 72, No. 92). This disguised trade was encouraged by Philip's proclamation in 1593–4, that English goods might be freely sold in Spain if they were not sent in English vessels or by English factors (*Lansd. MSS.*, 76, No. 1). Returns were not wanting; a Danish ship trading in wine from St Lucar to London was taken in 1591 (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 239, No. 162). Ships from Lisbon are frequently noted as arriving in English ports (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 253, No. 255, etc.) and, in 1592–3, over 23,000 lbs. of Spanish and other fine silk were brought to London by English and foreign merchants (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 574).

Through France as well as Germany the English merchants found their way; as Cole points out, the Breton towns were exceedingly convenient for their purpose; the West of England seems to have traded energetically with Brest and Morlaix; though their commerce was endangered by the wars of the League, with the result that they petitioned for the transfer of this trade to the Channel Islands (*Dom. St. P. Add. Cal.*, pp. 299–300). Altogether it seems

probable that though the Anglo-Spanish trade was severely injured by the war, yet the efforts of both sides preserved it from absolute destruction, and thereby lessened the misery which the war inflicted on both countries.

NOTE G. IRISH TRADE.—Irish trade with Spain and its dependencies was tolerably active about this period. The Irish as Catholics, and possible rebels against Elizabeth, were not prohibited by Philip II from trade, as were the English. Provisions of various kinds, hides and timber (including pipe staves) were the chief Irish exports to Spain. In 1588 it was reported that all the previous year Irish vessels had been coming to Bilboa, St Sebastians, and Corunna laden with wheat and hides from Waterford (*Dom. St. P. Add. Cal.*, p. 255, No. 110), and in 1592 Edmund Palmer at St Jean de Luz wrote to Burleigh that the "Irish will altogether feed Spain with grain" under pretence of going to Rochelle (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 177); and about the same date there were said to be thirty Irish merchants in Seville, all friends of Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 236, No. 57). Dangerous as such a trade must be to England, it offered too many opportunities for English traders to be foregone. Thus in 1591 a Spanish vessel took a ship from Cork laden by Sir Thomas Norris (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 238, No. 133); and Sir Walter Raleigh was the chief mover in procuring the English Government's permission for the trade in pipe staves from Ireland to the islands; it was stated in 1593 that in the past three years twelve ships with 340,000 pipe staves had gone from Waterford to the islands, and in return two ships had come from the Canaries with goods on which the customs amounted to £300 (*Hatfield MSS.*, IV, p. 464). With Irish trade to the Spanish dominions thus licensed on both sides, it is inevitable that numerous instances should occur of English traders disguised as Irish, as Cole asserts.

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